



ADELAIDE AND THE COUNTRY, 1870-1914:

A STUDY OF THEIR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
INTRODUCTION	viii
 <u>PART I - SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP</u>	
1. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION	1
2. THE PRODUCERS	19
3. THE COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL CAPITAL	45
4. VISITING ADELAIDE	61
5. A GENTRY IN ADELAIDE	71
6. ATTITUDES TO THE COUNTRY AND TO ADELAIDE	97
7. ADELAIDE AND THE COUNTRY	123
 <u>PART II - POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP</u>	
1. HOLDING AND LOSING THE COUNTRY, POLITICS 1870-1887	133
2. GOVERNMENT FROM ADELAIDE: A CENTRALISED ADMINISTRATION	259
3. WOONG THE COUNTRY, POLITICS 1887-1914	317
 <u>PART III - CONCLUSION</u>	
MAPS, APPENDICES	435
ABBREVIATIONS	450
NOTES	489
BIBLIOGRAPHY	490
	573

LIST OF TABLES

1.	The Population of Metropolitan Adelaide, 1851-1921	1
2.	Census Population and Net Migration in intercensal periods for Adelaide, the Country, and South Australia, 1876-1921	3
3.	Proportion of Country People in Towns, 1871-1911	7
4.	Population at each census of Country Towns with 1,000 Inhabitants or more	9
5.	Proportion of the Population and of selected groups living in Adelaide and the country, 1876-1911	13
6.	Child/Woman Ratio for Adelaide and the Country, 1881-1911	14
7.	Females/100 Males in South Australia, Adelaide, and the Country, 1876-1911	14
8.	Place of Residence of Members Elected for Country Seats in the House of Assembly, 1868-1896	151
9.	Place of Residence of all Members of the House of Assembly, 1868-1896	151
10.	Sources of the Liberal Union's Income, 1910-1915	423

SUMMARY

Adelaide held one third of South Australia's population in 1870 and one half by 1914. Adelaide's population was consistently growing more rapidly than the country's, and from the 1880s the country was losing population, some of which was absorbed by Adelaide.

The financial and commercial dominance of the capital was unchallenged throughout, the trade of the new wheat ports being conducted by Adelaide merchants. Special circumstances meant that Adelaide was the headquarters of mineowners and pastoralists who were closely connected with the city's commercial and professional groups. Together they provided social and political leadership for the colony. In Adelaide they recreated the life of a country gentry.

In Adelaide country life was commonly regarded as inferior. This view was shared by retired farmers and others attracted to the city's comforts and pleasures and by farmers advocating improvements in country life. Country people visited Adelaide regularly for recreation and on some occasions when they were ill. Anti-urban feeling in the country was comparatively weak.

Adelaide's pre-eminence in the social and economic life of South Australia was matched by the dominance of the central administration in the state. The weakness of local government was due not

to the country's inability to support local institutions, but to a tradition of central control and to the fact that in the formative years central government could raise revenue readily without recourse to direct taxation. It had no need to pass responsibilities to local bodies. Centralisation went unquestioned in a society where men and information moved easily.

In politics Adelaide men were initially predominant since they held numerous country seats as well as those allotted to the city. Their predominance was questioned in the early seventies when farmers demanded reform of the land laws, but was easily maintained in the prosperous years which followed when public works was the chief concern of parliament. Poor seasons and depression in the eighties led to the creation of the first rural political organisation, a rise in the proportion of countrymen elected to the Assembly, and a demand for payment of members, which was conceded in 1887. By the turn of the century Adelaide absentees were a rarity.

In the nineties two new political organisations emerged in Adelaide - the Labour Party and its conservative opponent the National League. While these organisations were operated chiefly to serve metropolitan interests and programmes, they could not establish themselves firmly in the country. In 1904 the Labour Party changed its platform and constitution and successfully attracted wide rural support. In 1910 the National League disbanded and joined two rural organisations

to form the Liberal Union. Adelaide's wealthy provided most of the Union's funds but wielded little influence. The Party's only safe seats were in the country, and the choice of candidates was in local hands.

Overall Adelaide's political influence declined. Its rise in population left it badly under-represented in parliament. Only in the Labour Party did metropolitan groups remain powerful, and South Australia was usually to be governed by the Liberal Union and its successors.

STATEMENT

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University and to the best of my knowledge and belief it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.

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Most of the research for this thesis was carried out in the Archives and the Newspaper Reading Room of the State Library of South Australia. I would like to thank the officers of those departments for their ready assistance. I am also grateful to Mr. R. Y. Wilson, the Secretary of the Liberal and Country League, who gave me free access to the records of the Australian National League and the Liberal Union. At the Adelaide University I was greatly helped by the comments and criticisms of Professor Frank Crowley, Mr. Peter Phillips and Dr. John Tregenza, and both at Adelaide and La Trobe by those of Professor Allan Martin.

INTRODUCTION

By the latter decades of the nineteenth century the Australian colonies were highly urbanised societies and in most colonies there was a very high degree of metropolitan concentration. In South Australia the metropolitan concentration of population was generally the greatest within Australia during the years 1870 to 1914.* The development of secondary towns in South Australia was extremely limited: there was in this period no country town with a population of more than 10,000. This thesis is not concerned to account for the growth of metropolitan Adelaide - such a study would have to commence long before 1870; rather it examines the interaction and interdependence between Adelaide and the rest of South Australia in order to increase our understanding of this very distinctive society: a political unit covering a comparatively wide area in which the capital was the only large town. This study of the relationship between Adelaide and the country encompasses such diverse matters as the extent to which the city controlled the country's economic affairs, the experience which country people had of the city and their attitudes towards it, the changing balance of city and country forces in the parliament, and the reception given to Adelaide's political organisations in the country.

The period I have chosen to study begins with the movement of farmers from the old settled districts within seventy miles of the capital

* See Appendix VII. I define the area which I have taken as metropolitan Adelaide in Appendix I.

to new agricultural areas in the north and on Yorke Peninsula. One of my first interests was to establish whether in these new districts, with their new towns and new ports, the ties with Adelaide would be weakened. The movement of farmers was most rapid in the seventies, but it continued throughout the period until by 1914 the settled areas of the colony were approaching their present day limits. (However, despite this physical expansion of the country districts, Adelaide's population was consistently growing more rapidly than the country's from the early seventies. In 1914, for the first time, Adelaide held one half of the population of the state.

(In politics the seventies also marked a new departure. Nearly all the settlers in the new areas held their farms on credit agreement from the crown, a system of tenure introduced in 1869. For much of the next two decades credit selection legislation was a major political issue. The seventies also saw the inauguration of the policy of large scale spending on public works. Railways were built to serve settlers in the new areas and the general prosperity allowed for the construction of other lines which had long been sought. In the second half of the period the shape of politics changed with the development of new political organisations in town and country and by 1914 these had polarised into a two party system. The House of Assembly elected in 1912 was the first in which all members owed allegiance to one or other of the parties. The choice of this period enables our study of

the political relationship between Adelaide and the country to conclude with an examination of the terms on which city and country forces co-operated within the two parties.

In neither social nor political history has it been possible to limit discussion strictly to the years 1870 to 1914. Some developments have been traced to their origins in earlier decades, and I have referred to the subsequent history of the political parties and of the political system in order to highlight the implications of earlier decisions and to follow to their conclusions trends evident before 1914.

Part I of the thesis deals with the social relationship between Adelaide and the country. "Social" is used here in its broadest sense. I discuss the ways in which the population and specific groups within it were distributed between Adelaide and the country, the movement of people between the two areas, the commercial and financial connections which Adelaide established with the country, its proprietary interest in country land and industries, the role which Adelaide Society played in the colony, and some of the attitudes which were held in Adelaide towards the country, and in the country towards Adelaide. These matters are dealt with in the first six sections and the seventh summarises the main conclusions reached. Special emphasis is given in these sections to those matters which illuminate the political and administrative history of the period.

The changing political relationship between Adelaide and the

country is examined in sections one and three of Part II, which deal with the political history of the period from 1870 to 1887 and from 1887 to 1914. To a student interested in the relative roles of town and country (the most striking feature of the politics of the seventies is the large number of country constituencies which were represented by Adelaide men. In order to understand this phenomenon I have examined the major political issues of the period - the tariff, land legislation, and public works - to see how the country was served by a parliament in which Adelaide men predominated. These studies also allow me to explain why in the eighties the country districts increasingly turned to local representatives and came to insist on the introduction of payment of members, which they secured in 1887. The title of the first section describes Adelaide's experience of these years: it was one of holding and then losing the country.)

At the general elections of 1887 the organised forces of the Adelaide working classes operating through the Trades and Labour Council emerged into the political arena for the first time. Within four years the Labour Party had been formed and representatives of Adelaide capitalists and landowners had established a rival organisation, the National Defence League. Section three of Part II, which I have called "Wooing the Country", describes how these almost exclusively metropolitan bodies attempted to win rural support, the responses which their efforts provoked in the country, the changes which they were obliged to make in their policies and constitutions

to accommodate country people and organisations, and eventually the way in which country and city were combined in the two parties which controlled the Legislature.

Section two of Part II deals with administrative history.

One of the most distinctive features of this society was the minor role assigned to local government. The central government in Adelaide provided schools, hospitals, police, and poor relief for the whole colony. This centralised administration linked each country locality closely to Adelaide. Strong central administrations were common to all the Australian colonies; in this section I critically examine the explanations which have been offered for their growth and attempt a new interpretation of the phenomenon in South Australia. I have dealt with the centralised administration as part of the political relationship between Adelaide and the country, yet in no other area is the connection between social and political history so close. The centralised administration provides one of the best clues to an understanding of the society in which it operated.

PART I

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP



SECTION 1

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

In the beginning was Adelaide, and for the first fourteen years of the colony's history as many people lived within ten miles of the city's centre as in all the country beyond. After 1850 the population of the country grew more rapidly than Adelaide's, so that by 1866 the proportion of the total population living in Adelaide had fallen to one third. The same proportion was recorded at the censuses of 1871 and 1876, and then the situation was reversed: Adelaide began to grow more rapidly than the country. From one third in 1871 and 1876, the city grew to hold one half of South Australia's people in 1914.

TABLE 1

The Population of Metropolitan Adelaide, 1851-1921

Year (census date unless otherwise stated)	Population	Percentage of South Australia's Population
1851	32,810	51.5
1861	44,857	35.4
1866	54,251	33.2
1871	61,361	33.1
1876	71,794	33.8
1881	103,942	37.6
1891	133,252	42.2
1901	162,261	45.3
1911	189,646	46.4
31 Dec. 1913	222,634	50.1
1921	255,375	51.6

Source: See Appendix I, Series 1.

Metropolitan concentration was a common Australian phenomenon, but in the period 1870-1914 Victoria was the only other colony to approach this degree of concentration. The proportion of the Victorian population in the metropolis was generally a few per cent below the South Australian figure. Only at one census, in 1891, was Melbourne's proportion higher than Adelaide's.¹

The reversal in the rates of growth of Adelaide and the country that occurred in the mid seventies was quickly followed by another important demographic change which first became evident in the intercensal period 1881-1891. From that time onward the country was no longer able to absorb the natural increase in its population and began to lose people by migration. Table 2 indicates the extent of migration (whether inwards or outwards) for Adelaide, the country, and South Australia from 1876 to 1921. The figures have been arrived at by calculating the natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) in each of these areas during each intercensal period. The difference between these figures and the actual increase in population, as recorded by the census, represents the amount of migration. It must be emphasised that the figure only records net migration. The actual movement would have been considerably larger and would not have been limited to one direction. For example, between 1901 and 1911 the net migration from the country is given as 14,000, yet at the 1911 census 4,000 people were recorded as having arrived in the country districts from places outside South Australia during the previous ten years.²

TABLE 2

Census Population and Net Migration in intercensal periods
for Adelaide, the Country, and South Australia, 1876-1921

Adelaide

A Population		B Net Migration (+ gain, - loss)		B/A %
1876	71,794	1876-1881	+23,600	32.9%
1881	103,942	1881-1891	+ 400	.4%
1891	133,252	1891-1901	+ 6,800	5.1%
1901	162,261	1901-1911	+10,300	6.3%
1911	189,646	1911-1921	+36,100	19.0%

Country

A Population		B Net Migration (+ gain, - loss)		B/A %
1876	140,734	1876-1881	+11,600	8.2%
1881	172,472	1881-1891	-30,100	17.5%
1891	182,281	1891-1901	-22,400	12.3%
1901	196,247	1901-1911	-14,700	7.5%
1911	218,912	1911-1921	-20,900	9.5%

South Australia

A Population		B Net Migration (+ gain, - loss)		B/A %
1876	212,528	1876-1881	+35,200	16.6%
1881	276,414	1881-1891	-29,700	10.8%
1891	315,533	1891-1901	-15,600	4.9%
1901	358,508	1901-1911	- 4,400	1.2%
1911	408,558	1911-1921	+15,200	3.7%

The migration out of the country must have been at least 18,000.

The Table shows that only in the period 1876-1881 was the country able to retain its natural increase and absorb extra population. However, its net gain was very much smaller than Adelaide's in the same period. A greater proportion of the immigrants arriving from outside the colony were now settling in Adelaide. Of those who arrived between 1871 and 1876, 50% were resident in Adelaide at the census of 1881. In the second half of the decade the proportion settling in Adelaide rose to 58%. By contrast the immigrants who had arrived before 1871 favoured the country much more: 64% of those still alive in 1881 were country residents.³ During the seventies there were complaints that immigrants were reluctant to take work in the country.⁴ Though their inclinations may in part explain the increased concentration in Adelaide, the long term change in the relative rates of growth of Adelaide and the country which took place in the early seventies seems likely to have been a much more important factor. It would be difficult to argue that immigrants of the seventies were that much more fearful of country life than earlier arrivals.

In the last two decades of the century both the agricultural and pastoral industries were assailed by severe droughts and low prices. The great northern rush of farmers ceased in the early eighties, the area sown to wheat remained stationary, and yields were generally disastrously low.⁵ During this time there was, as Table 2 shows, a large net migration from the country. In the eighties the exodus

reached its greatest proportions when the loss by migration was equal to 17% of the country's population in 1881. In these two depression decades the loss of country population can be ascribed chiefly to the severe restriction of economic opportunities. However, even after the return of rural prosperity in the early twentieth century, the country was still losing more people than it gained. This movement of population cannot be explained so simply. Lack of economic opportunities in the country was certainly still an important factor. South Australia was unable to satisfy the land hunger of its own rural population and the steady movement of farmers and their sons to other states, which had begun in the eighties, continued.⁶ But social factors were also responsible for the loss of country population. At the local meetings of the Agricultural Bureau in the early twentieth century farmers were discussing the problem of keeping young people on the farm. They were being attracted to the towns, and particularly to Adelaide, not because there was no work for them on the farm, but on account of the shorter working hours, better prospects, and the more comfortable and lively life which the town offered.⁷ Contemporary commentators in both city and country nominated social considerations as the chief reasons for the movement out of the country.⁸

In the early twentieth century farmers were constantly complaining about the shortage of agricultural labourers. In the depression decades the farmers had usually experienced no difficulty in obtaining what labour they needed - in some years it was very little - but with

the return of prosperity after 1904 the labour shortage became acute.⁹ The country would have supported more people if men had been more willing to accept farm work. But since there was no limitation on the hours farm labourers had to work and no award to cover their wages, labourers generally preferred to work elsewhere. The farmers were obliged to look beyond South Australia for their labour force: in 1911 an assisted immigration programme was resumed in an effort to recruit agricultural labourers from Britain¹⁰ and in 1913 a scheme to lure British boys into apprenticeships with farmers was introduced.¹¹

The shortage of labour increased the farmers' interest in mechanisation. At the Bureau meetings some farmers were advising others to follow their practice of reducing the area sown to wheat so that with the new combine harvester the whole crop could be reaped without any outside labour being employed. On the land taken out of wheat production they ran sheep, which they could manage themselves except for the brief shearing season.¹² The consequence of increased mechanisation was to further reduce the overall requirement for labour. In 1911 the number of people employed in farm and pastoral industries was 64% higher than in 1876,¹³ yet between these years the area sown to wheat had more than doubled, the amount of grain harvested from each acre had increased markedly, and fruit growing, wine making, and dairying had become significant minor industries.

Mining, the other major primary industry, provided fewer jobs in 1911 than it had in 1876.¹⁴ The early mining centres of Burra and

Kapunda were in decline by 1870. The population of the new centres, Moonta and Kadina, ceased to grow any further after the mid seventies. Smaller copper mines elsewhere worked intermittently, and an occasional gold rush temporarily increased the number of miners, but no substantial new field or deposit was discovered.¹⁵

Despite the decline in mining, the proportion of country people living in towns rose during the period, though only very modestly. The following table shows the proportion of country people living in towns of 500 inhabitants or more at census dates.

TABLE 3

Proportion of Country People in Towns, 1871-1911

	1871	1876	1881	1891	1901	1911
Towns 500-1,000	4.5%	N.A.	6.4%	6.7%	6.1%	N.A.
Towns over 1,000	16.1%	18.6%	16.3%	16.3%	20.9%	20.6%
All Towns over 500	20.6%	N.A.	22.7%	23.0%	27.0%	N.A.

N.A. = not available

Source: See Appendix II.

The occupation figures for the country population reveal the same tendency.¹⁶ After 1881 the proportion of country people employed in agricultural and pastoral activities declined, from 49.1% in 1881 to 43.9% in 1911; and over the period 1876 to 1911 there were rises in the proportions employed in those occupations most likely to be located in urban areas. There was a steady growth in the proportion employed

in commerce, and in transport and communication, and smaller increases in manufacturing industry. These increases more than offset the decline in the proportion employed in mining.

These increases were not, however, associated with the development of any large country towns. Table 4 shows the population at each census of all the towns which had 1,000 inhabitants or more at any time between 1871 and 1911. One of South Australia's distinctive features was the lack of any sizeable town outside the capital: at no stage between 1836 and 1911 was there a country town with more than 10,000 people. As in the other colonies, mining gave South Australia some of its largest country towns, but Moonta, with a peak population of 7,400 in 1876, could not compare with Ballarat, which had 22,000 inhabitants in 1861,¹⁷ or with Kalgoorlie-Boulder, which had almost 30,000 people early in the century.¹⁸ With the development of the West Australian goldfields, South Australia was the only Australian colony without a non-metropolitan centre of 10,000 people or more. At the turn of the century, Western Australia and Tasmania had one such centre, Victoria had three, New South Wales, four, and Queensland, five. The largest towns outside the metropolis in New South Wales and Victoria were seven and five times the size of Port Pirie, which was then South Australia's largest country town.¹⁹ Not only was Adelaide the largest Australian capital in proportion to the colonial or state population, its

TABLE 4

Population at each census of Country Towns
with 1,000 Inhabitants or more

(Arranged according to size as at 1911.)

	1871	1876	1881	1891	1901	1911
Port Pirie		N.A.	1,430	4,006	7,983	9,385
Moonta	4,775	7,463	6,225	5,324	5,767	5,531
Mount Gambier	2,369	2,500	2,636	3,276	4,160	4,531
Kadina	3,331	5,205	4,350	3,704	4,176	4,300
Gawler	2,046	2,600	3,348	4,086	4,418	4,037
Wallaroo	1,983	2,075	1,869	1,685	2,920	3,212
Peterborough			345	1,071	2,157	2,320
Burra	2,199	2,906	2,647	2,174	1,994	1,751
Kapunda	2,273	2,272	2,290	1,942	1,805	1,680
Quorn			540	767	1,108	1,502
Port Augusta	551	569	2,160	2,505	2,133	1,482
Mount Barker	627	N.A.	752	962	1,436	1,446
Naracoorte	591	N.A.	899	870	821	1,330
Angaston	419	N.A.	628	606	980	1,265
Jamestown			995	990	975	1,235
Terowie			687	869	1,022	941
Clare	1,004	1,132	1,131	933	788	882

N.A. = Not available

Source: See Appendix II.

See Map IV, Vol. 2.

pre-eminence over the secondary towns was also the most marked.

In 1871 the two largest towns were the mining centres of Moonta and Kadina. They reached their peak population in the mid seventies and thereafter fluctuated around the 4,000-6,000 mark. The smaller town of Wallaroo, which was the port and smelting centre for the mines, followed roughly the same pattern. Of the other larger towns of 1871, Clare, Burra and Kapunda all had smaller populations in 1911 than forty years previously. Gawler had grown considerably, but in the early twentieth century its machinery workshops were in decline and its population falling.²⁰ The only old town to maintain a steady rate of growth was Mount Gambier in the South East. In 1871 the eight largest towns held 16.1% of the country population. In 1876 the figure had risen to 18.6%, but by 1911 the proportion of country people in these same eight towns had fallen to 13.2%.

The expansion in urban population after the mid seventies occurred chiefly in new centres or in those which were very minor in 1871. Port Pirie, the largest town in 1911 with a population of 9,385, was one of these. It was established in the seventies as a wheat port and grew rapidly from the late eighties when it became the port and processing centre for Broken Hill minerals. In 1871 Port Augusta, at the head of Spencer's Gulf, had a population of 551: it expanded in the seventies after it became a railway terminus and a port for wheat as well as wool. Peterborough, Quorn and Terowie in the North were new towns which grew primarily as railway centres. Peterborough, which

was at the junction of the northern and Port Pirie-Broken Hill lines, had been first called into existence solely because of the need of the railways. In 1911 it had a population of 2,320, and was by South Australian standards a large town: the seventh in the state outside Adelaide. Jamestown in the Mid-North, with a population of 1,235 in 1911, was the largest of a very common form of new town, the government-surveyed township in the new wheat areas.²¹ Though many of these remained very small, some contributed to the growth of population in towns of 500-1,000. Taken together, these developments meant that the proportion of country people living in towns was increasing, but plainly towns were not growing rapidly enough to absorb all the rural population. After 1881 the urban centres which provided many country people with jobs were Melbourne, Broken Hill, Perth, Kalgoorlie - and Adelaide.

In the decades after 1881 it was not only the country that was unable to absorb its natural increase: from 1881 to 1911 South Australia as a whole was losing population by migration (see Table 2). At the census of 1911, the first conducted by the Commonwealth, almost 20% of the people born in South Australia were living in other states. This was the highest proportionate loss of any of the states.²² Adelaide people took part in this exodus to the other colonies. In the eighties, when emigration was heaviest, thousands left the city for Broken Hill and for Melbourne which was still booming.²³ In this decade Adelaide would have registered a net loss by migration had not some of the

people who left been replaced by newcomers from the country. The net migration figures give only the end result of a whole complex of movements: Adelaide people moving to the other colonies; people from the country moving both to the other colonies and to Adelaide; and flowing in the opposite direction to these major streams, some people were still arriving in the colony and some were still leaving Adelaide to take up work in the country. In each succeeding decade after the eighties South Australia's absolute and proportionate loss by migration declined until the decade 1911-1921 when there was a net gain from migration. The country, however, still registered a net loss. As prosperous times returned and Adelaide expanded more rapidly, the movement of people probably became more concentrated in one channel: from the country to Adelaide. One thing is certain: the drift of country people to the city had set in during the eighties.

While specific details about the amount and direction of migration cannot be obtained, the end result of the process within South Australia can be examined through the census figures on the age, conjugal condition, and sex of the population. The distribution of the population of selected groups between Adelaide and the country at each census is shown on the table below. The uniformity in the distribution of these groups over time is immediately apparent. It has been possible to arrange the table so that, with only one exception, the order in which the various groups are listed is the same as the rank order of the percentages. Reading the Table from top to bottom, the proportion of each group living in Adelaide increases. For the country,

the highest proportion is at the top, and the lowest at the bottom. The exception occurs in 1891 when the proportion of adult males in Adelaide is lower than the proportion of children.

TABLE 5

Proportion of the Population and of selected groups living in
Adelaide and the country, 1876-1911

	1876		1881		1891		1901		1911	
	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Children (0-14)	30.8	69.2	34.8	65.2	38.7	61.3	40.7	59.3	43.6	56.4
Adult Males	31.8	68.2	36.2	63.8	37.9	62.1	40.8	59.2	44.7	55.3
Population	33.2	66.8	37.3	62.7	40.5	59.5	43.2	56.8	46.7	53.3
Adult Females	38.7	61.3	42.2	57.8	45.7	54.3	48.4	51.6	51.6	48.4
Widows	48.9	51.1	50.7	49.3	53.9	46.1	54.6	45.4	57.5	42.5
Spinsters over 30	65.5	34.5	59.6	40.4	60.1	39.9	58.9	41.1	61.4	38.6

A = Adelaide

C = Country

Source: See Appendix I, Series 3.

The Table shows that the country always had a greater proportion of the colony's children than of the general population. However, the distribution of adult females was uneven in the opposite way: the proportion of women in the country was consistently lower than the country's proportion of the general population. Throughout the period the proportion of children in the country was about 8% higher than the proportion of women. This suggests that country women had more children than those in Adelaide. The relationship between adult females and

children can be expressed more precisely in a child/woman ratio:

TABLE 6

Child/Woman Ratio for Adelaide and the Country

(children 0-4: married women 15-49)

	<u>Adelaide</u>	<u>Country</u>
1881	1.043	1.246
1891	1.061	1.310
1901	.819	1.043
1911	.797	1.018

Source: See Appendix I Series 3.

Decreasing opportunities for employment in the country apparently did not stop country parents from producing larger families. In so doing they helped to swell the exodus from the country.

The sexes differed quite markedly in their distribution between Adelaide and the country. Table 5 shows that the proportion of women in Adelaide was always about 7% higher than that of men. Table 7, which follows, shows the extent to which women predominated in the city's population and men in the country's.

TABLE 7

Females/100 Males in South Australia, Adelaide, and the Country

	1876	1881	1891	1901	1911
South Australia	95	91	97	100	98
Adelaide	108	101	109	112	109
Country	87	86	89	92	89

Source: See Appendix I, Series 3.

The conditions under which men were employed in the country was the main cause of this imbalance. Regular employees on sheep stations were not encouraged to marry, and if the itinerant pastoral worker had a wife she did not travel with him; most intinerants were single. On the farms cottages were seldom provided for labourers: they lived in, which generally meant they were given a rough bed in a barn or shed.²⁴ Agricultural writers in the seventies hoped that, with the increase in the size of farms, farmers would be encouraged to provide proper housing for their employees, but the situation did not change, and farmers in the early twentieth century were being told that unless they provided facilities for a married man and children they could not attract the good labourers whose scarcity they were always decrying.²⁵ The Scottish Agricultural Commissioners who visited Australia in 1911 found the prejudice against married men one of the most surprising and regrettable aspects of rural life.²⁶ Of course conditions in Australia were different, with labour more expensive and the land less fertile, and one can appreciate the farmers not wanting to spend heavily on wages or cottages, especially as the experience of these years showed that production could be increased without a proportionate increase in the amount of labour employed. Many only employed labour at the busy times of seeding and harvest, to the annoyance of more substantial neighbours who had to pay higher wages at these times to men they employed all the year round,²⁷ and to the regret of writers on agricultural economy who were always suggesting many tasks

on which farmers could keep labourers constantly employed.²⁸ Employment under these conditions was naturally more casual: men moved from shearing to farming and on to some public works project. Their wanderings frequently took them to Adelaide where shearing gangs were made up for the larger stations, where private employment agencies could be consulted, and where, in hard times, pressure could be put on the government to spend more on public works. But there was no room for a wife on the stations, the farms, or the government works. At each census the proportion of single men was considerably higher in the country than in Adelaide.²⁹

Adelaide was kinder to women than the country. It offered employment in domestic service and the textile and clothing industries;³⁰ to the genteel it offered a more comfortable life; and in Adelaide men were in a better position to marry and support families. A greater proportion of men in Adelaide was married than in the country, but the superfluity of females in the city meant that many women were bound to be disappointed. In Adelaide a greater proportion of them registered themselves "never married" than in the country.³¹ The country had more than its share of single men, while Adelaide was well off for maiden aunts. Table 5 shows that throughout the period about 60% of the spinsters over thirty were resident in Adelaide. The same Table indicates that the city was also a haven for widows.³²

In each intercensal period after 1876 the proportion of the population - both of men and of women - living in Adelaide was increasing. A series of graphs in Appendix VI enables us to determine

whether all age groups within these populations were following this general pattern. The graphs show the change in the proportion of each age group (of both men and women) living in Adelaide during each intercensal period. An example will make the principle of the graphs clear: the proportion of men aged 25-30 living in Adelaide at the beginning of each intercensal period has been compared with the proportion of men aged 35-40 living in the city at the time of the next census ten years later and the difference between the two is recorded on the graph. In the period 1876-1881, with only a five year gap between censuses, the comparison is with groups five years older. The graphs record not merely the movement between the country and Adelaide; they also reflect the nature of migration into and out of South Australia - whether immigrants in the various age groups settled in Adelaide or the country, and in what proportions the inhabitants left for the other colonies.³³

The graphs show that in each of the three intercensal periods spanning the years 1881-1911 there was a rise in all age groups of the proportion living in Adelaide. In the period 1876-1881 there was a rise in all groups except for men over 70 and women over 75. So with this very minor exception all age groups were contributing to the growth of Adelaide from 1876. The graphs also show that the overall increase in the proportion of women living in Adelaide was always greater than that of men and the greatest changes regularly occurred among females in the ages 15-30. The proportion of the 20-25 age group living in Adelaide had always increased by more than 8% between censuses

and in one period it had risen by almost 12%. That is, the tendency of the female population to favour Adelaide was first, and most markedly, evident as soon as they reached adulthood. For men there was no age group in which the increase in proportion was consistently higher than average.

One of the most notable features revealed by these graphs is that even in the older age groups the proportion of people living in Adelaide was continually rising. What was the cause of this? Changes in these age groups were least likely to have been affected by movements into and out of South Australia. On the other hand they were most likely to have been affected by deaths. Perhaps the increase in the proportion living in Adelaide could be explained by more people dying in the country. However, the death rate for Adelaide was consistently higher than the country's,³⁴ so the continuance of the increase in the older age groups must be ascribed to another cause: the tendency of the old to gather in Adelaide.

One attraction which Adelaide had for the old was its Destitute Asylum. The Destitute Board, which distributed all government relief, would supply the aged and invalid in the country with rations, but if they had no one to care for them, the Board's Asylum in Adelaide was the only public institution which would take them in.³⁵ There were no institutions of this sort in the country. So bushmen, shepherds, labourers and domestics from the country spent their last days in Adelaide.³⁶ Other reasons for the gathering of the old in Adelaide will be examined in subsequent sections.

SECTION 2THE PRODUCERS

The three staple industries of the colony were mining, grazing and agriculture. The mineowners, pastoralists and farmers were known collectively as the producers or the producing interests. In detailing their movements and activities, this section will give an outline account of the pattern of settlement in the country. It will also explain why so many of the producers of rural wealth were to be found in Adelaide.

Apart from a small silver lead mine and a few short lived gold rushes, mining in South Australia meant copper mining. In 1870 the chief mines were at Kapunda and Burra in the north, and at Kadina and Moonta on Yorke Peninsula. By this time the northern mines, which had been discovered in the forties, were almost worked out; Burra closed in 1877, Kapunda in 1878.¹ The Peninsula mines, first opened in 1860, remained in operation until 1923.² The copper mines required considerable amounts of capital for their operation from the beginning. In this they differed from the gold fields of the eastern colonies where at first individual miners or small groups of them worked their own claims. What drama there is in the South Australian mineral discoveries lies not in a great rush of fortune seekers, but in the contest between rival syndicates and capitalists in Adelaide.

After the discovery of copper at the Burra in 1845, two syndicates attempted to raise the sum of £20,000 which was the amount needed to acquire the land under the Special Survey provisions.³ The two groups were nicknamed the Nobs and Snobs. The Nobs were rich men and their party included Bagot, the pastoralist who had discovered and developed the Kapunda mine three years earlier.⁴ The Snobs were a much larger group of small capitalists. Since neither party could raise the necessary amount in ready cash, they pooled their resources and decided to divide their holding by the drawing of lots. The Nobs drew the southern section, which proved barren, and the Snobs acquired the copper. The South Australian Mining Association, which some of them had formed to keep the colony's mineral wealth from overseas speculators, was transformed into a company to run the mine. Originally there were 86 shareholders in the venture, the majority of shares being held in Adelaide by shopkeepers, merchants, gentlemen and stockholders. The operation of the mine was controlled from Adelaide by the secretary of the Association, Henry Ayers, formerly a clerk in a lawyer's office, who held 45 of the original 2,464 shares. In 1850 he controlled sufficient votes of absentee shareholders to become Chairman of Directors.⁵ He made his home at Austral House, North Terrace, which he bought from one of the first Burra directors, a former chemist.⁶ By the 1870s the "monster mine" was almost exhausted and most of those who had made their fortunes from it were either dead or had retired to England. Ayers, however, remained. In 1872

he became Premier of the colony for the fifth time and two years later he completed the last of many additions to Austral House.

The largest and longest lasting mines were those on Yorke Peninsula. Copper was first discovered here in 1859 by a shepherd in the employ of Captain W. W. Hughes. After sinking a trial shaft and finding rich copper ore, Hughes asked the partners in the firm of Elder Stirling and Co., merchants and shipowners, to help him finance the mine.⁷ This business had been established in Adelaide in the 1840s by three sons of George Elder, merchant and shipowner, of Kirkaldy, Scotland. In 1854 a fourth son, Thomas, arrived and a little later his three brothers returned home. The firm was reconstituted and Thomas Elder took in three new partners, Edward Stirling, John Taylor, and Robert Barr Smith.⁸ Taylor and Stirling together with Captain Hughes constituted the first board of management of the Wallaroo mines, and a year later they were joined by Elder and Barr Smith.⁹ Within eighteen months this same group provided the finance and the first board of management for the Moonta mine, a much richer find, twelve miles south-west from the first.¹⁰ During the sixties Hughes, Stirling, and Taylor returned to Britain. Elder Stirling and Co. was reconstituted as Elder Smith and Co.¹¹ and Elder and Barr Smith became the mainstays on the boards of management of the two mines. They shared their task with the proprietor of the Register, a land speculator, a merchant, the chief police magistrate, a director of the Burra mines, and other city men. In the eighties and nineties a new generation appeared in the boardroom: Lancelot Stirling, son of

Edward, J. J. Duncan, a nephew of W. W. Hughes, and Tom Barr Smith, son of Robert and nephew of Thomas Elder.¹²

As in Victoria, mining provided the country with its first substantial towns, but in South Australia they were company towns: none of the men who made their wealth from mining lived in them. Bagot deserted Kapunda soon after the mine began operations: he found that he could manage the mine's affairs better in Adelaide. In 1846 he began building his mansion, Nurney House, on North Adelaide hill.¹³ In 1857 he floated a company in London which worked the mines until they closed.¹⁴ The larger mines at the Burra, Wallaroo, and Moonta were from the beginning financed, controlled, and managed by men in Adelaide.

Until the late nineteenth century South Australia was distinguished among the Australian colonies by the number of its successful wheat farmers. However wool was her first export, and the squatters were the first explorers and assessors of the country. They grazed their flocks on land later given over to wheat farming.

One of the foundation principles of the colony was that land should be sold, not given away. Beyond the areas which were sold or surveyed ready for sale, the squatter was allowed to lease land to run sheep or cattle, but he was never given a secure hold on his run like that enjoyed after 1847 by the squatters in the eastern colonies. The Order in Council of that year promised them an undisturbed tenancy of

fourteen years, during which they were allowed to buy as much of their run as they wished at the minimum price.¹⁵ South Australia's Order in Council, promulgated in 1850, gave the squatters a fourteen year lease, but it was subject to resumption at six months' notice. If the land were resumed compensation for substantial improvements was to be made, but there was no provision allowing purchase of the land.¹⁶ The only way the squatter could obtain the freehold of his run was to wait until it had been resumed and surveyed, and then bid against all-comers at the auction.¹⁷

In 1870 nearly all the land which had been sold lay in a continuous strip to the south and north of the capital.* In the south it was bounded by the Southern Ocean, the shore of St. Vincent's Gulf, and the eastern slopes of the Mt. Lofty Range; to the north the strip narrowed, bounded to the east and west by mallee scrub, and extending through open hill country to just beyond Clare, about 120 miles north of Adelaide. These were the "settled areas", and within them nearly all the colony's wheat was grown: beyond were pastoral leases.

Among the farms of the settled areas there were many large freehold estates given over to sheep.¹⁸ A good number of these had been purchased under the Special Survey provisions which operated during the first few years of settlement. Under these capitalists

* See Map I, Vol.2.

could ask the government to survey 15,000 acres anywhere they chose. From this area they were then obliged to buy 4,000 acres, for which they only had to pay the minimum price of one pound per acre. Thousands of acres of the best watered country within fifty or sixty miles of Adelaide were alienated in this way. Williams-town, Mt. Crawford, and Angaston in the north east, and Strathalbyn in the south east were encircled by these Special Survey estates.¹⁹

Squatters also accumulated large freeholds for their sheep by judicious buying at government auction sales. At the sales there were usually three interested parties: the squatters, the farmers, and a mixed group of speculators and blackmailers. Speculators outbid farmers for land and then resold it at a great profit, or leased it at high rentals with right of purchase. Blackmailers threatened "to run up" any prospective buyer unless they were paid not to bid. Land agents were employed by all three parties, and some agents were themselves speculators and blackmailers. (By the 1860s, after twenty years' operation, many of the squatters whose land was resumed had the resources to spend heavily at the auction sales. They eliminated, or at least reduced, competition by giving bonuses to stop blackmailers and speculators bidding, and by employing several and sometimes all the land agents simultaneously to look after their interests. The result was that three-quarters of the land offered was sold to squatters.)²⁰ To the north and east of Clare on the edge of the settled areas the squatters obtained the freehold to

a series of runs, and a stronger hold upon the land than they had enjoyed anywhere before.

Before 1870 some land had also been sold in the South East. This portion of the colony was isolated from the main settled areas by what was known until recent times as the ninety-mile desert, which stretched south east from the lower reaches of the River Murray. The South East received a good rainfall, but was very poorly drained: a series of limestone ridges running parallel to the coast prohibited surface water from reaching the sea. Beginning in the 1860s and continuing throughout the period, governments undertook various drainage schemes. Gaps were cut in the ridges, and channels dug to carry water to the sea. Some farming was undertaken in the South East, but there was no parallel to the steady advance of the farmers in the main settled areas where conditions were more favourable. Nearly all the land offered for sale had been acquired by the squatters and in 1870 the South East carried about a quarter of the colony's sheep. The nature of the terrain helped the squatters. Once they had acquired the higher land on the limestone ridges they had a virtual freehold over the swampy lands in between. In winter when these were flooded there was enough feed on the ridges; in summer they were lush pastures.²¹

(With the squatters dominating the land sales in the sixties, the farmers found it increasingly difficult to obtain land direct from the Crown and were forced more and more into the hands of

speculators and agents. Farmers complained about their disadvantages, but reform came slowly since those who benefited from open auction were well represented in parliament, and governments were inclined to be content so long as money flowed in from the land office: it was immaterial from their point of view, whether it came from farmer, squatter, or speculator.²² Meantime in Victoria the farmer could obtain 320 acres of crown land merely by settling on it and paying two shillings per acre per annum over ten years.²³

The migration of many South Australian farmers from the old settled areas to Victoria, and the prospect that more would follow them, finally persuaded parliament to amend the land laws.²⁴ Strangways' Act of 1868-69 set aside special Agricultural Areas in which farmers could take up land on credit, though on terms far more stringent than in Victoria. For land outside the Areas the old open auction system continued for another three years. An Act to prevent fraud at auction and a provision of the Strangways Act allowing farmers to bid in open auction and then pay on terms were of little hindrance to squatters: they bought heavily while there was yet time.²⁵ In 1871 open auction for cash was abandoned and in 1872 all land south of Goyder's Line* became in effect an Agricultural Area. Surveyor General Goyder had drawn this line across the map in

* See Map I, Vol. 2.

in the mid sixties when he was asked to mark the southern boundary of the pastoral lands badly affected by drought. Now he advised governments not to allow farmers to go beyond his line, where he claimed rainfall was not reliable enough for farming. After the good seasons of the early seventies the farmers would not hear of such restrictions. An amendment to the land law passed in 1874 empowered the government to offer land anywhere in the colony to the farmer on credit terms. However, at no stage was the policy of surveying the land before offering it for selection abandoned.)

By the early eighties the farmers had moved onto the lands to the east and west of the old settled areas in the north, they had taken over Yorke Peninsula, and beyond the freehold estates around Clare wheat farms stretched for 100 miles northward. Scores of new townships had appeared to serve the farmers. The old northern towns of Clare and Melrose which had served the sheep runs languished as new patterns of trade were established. The railways built to carry wheat to the gulf ports by-passed both the old pastoral towns, and linked the new wheat towns together.²⁶ Yet in these areas the squatters were not completely shut out. In some places old station homesteads fell into ruin or became merely the headquarters of a property of a few hundred acres;²⁷ but where the squatter had some freehold to work from (the bases of several large freeholds were first acquired in the last three years of open auction)²⁸ he was able to salvage part of his run by exploiting loopholes in the acts, by

using dummies, and by buying out selectors who had completed their payments.²⁹

On the whole, however, the State was more successful in South Australia in helping farmers onto the land than it was in the eastern colonies. One reason for this, which has frequently been referred to, was that conditions favoured farming in South Australia - there was good agricultural land available within a short distance of the sea. This is, of course, true, and is borne out not only by the success in the north and on the Peninsula, but by the comparative failure in the South East where the squatters had a firmer hold upon the land in 1880 than they had before the credit acts were passed. The drainage works only advanced fitfully so the nature of the terrain continued to favour the squatters. Floods drove some farmers off the land. Small holders in the South East, isolated from the main farming areas of the colony, also had to contend with higher costs.³⁰

Though favourable conditions were indubitably important for keeping the farmer on the land, the South Australian laws also gave him a better chance of getting on to it, and they put more hindrances in the way of squatters and speculators. Firstly, as we have already seen, the squatter had no pre-emptive right whatever, and after 1871, when auction sales ceased, all new land was offered first to the selector. These restrictions were not imposed upon the squatter in New South Wales and Victoria. Secondly, because the squatter's run was resumed, and proper surveys made before the land was offered, the

squatter did not enjoy the advantage of his counterpart in New South Wales who could fight the selector on his home ground since survey followed selection. Thirdly, at no stage in South Australia was land offered and sold on credit at a fixed price. Competition was resolved by one person offering to pay more than others for the land. In Victoria and New South Wales the price was fixed, and simultaneous applicants ballotted for the right to select. Under the South Australian system competition made for higher prices, and the cost of land was increased further by the requirement that interest be paid on the amount of purchase money owing. The higher cost of land increased the risks of dummyming. Squatters were also deterred from subverting the intention of the acts by the obligation to cultivate the land and to hold it for much longer than in New South Wales and Victoria before the freehold was granted. Finally, the laws in South Australia were administered by one office in Adelaide - there were no district offices - and this reduced the opportunities for corruption.³¹

In the late seventies it seemed that nothing could stop the northern advance of the farmers. Great areas of pastoral country were being resumed ahead of the rush. But in the early eighties a run of bad seasons clearly demonstrated that Goyder was right and that the farmers had gone too far north and east. The farmer retreated, and some of the resumed land was handed back to

the squatters. New lands suitable for farming were sought.

Attention was directed first to Eyre Peninsula where some wheat had been grown from the earliest times. From the eighties wheat farms were constantly being established, at first along the coast, and by the end of the period, in the interior lands as well.³²

After 1897 the farmers took up land on some of the big estates whose owners had outwitted and outbid them at the auctions of the sixties and early seventies. The government supervised this redistribution of the land under the Closer Settlement Act: it bought the estate, subdivided it, and offered holdings to farmers.³³ In the final decade of the period the last major farming area in the state was opened for settlement in the Murray Mallee.³⁴ In this district and on Eyre Peninsula agricultural settlement proceeded without interference from squatters because they had acquired little freehold and because after 1888 Land Boards closely supervised the allocation of the land to ensure that only bona fide farmers obtained it. In any case, these lands were not as valuable to the squatters as the open well-watered country of the mid-north which they had bought up in the sixties and early seventies.

Both the new farming areas, on the Peninsula and in the Murray Mallee, were south of Goyder's Line. North of the Line lay the greater proportion of the colony's land. Great tracts of this in the west and in the north-east were desert, but the remainder could to varying degrees support sheep and cattle. In these outback

regions there were few people and only an occasional settlement, which could scarcely be called a town. Here the squatter had nothing to fear from the farmers, but much from drought and vermin.

While the squatters were not denied a considerable share of the good land, at no stage did they have more than the farmers. South Australia maintained its position as the granary of Australia, better known for wheat farms than sheep runs. When the squatters looked like getting the upper hand in the sixties the new land laws restored the balance in favour of the farmer. From time to time the public was roused against the squatters when they were buying land or obtaining concessions on leases, but it had no cause to share the bitterness and resentment which the public in the eastern colonies harboured against their squatters.

The insecurity of pastoral leaseholds and the early success of farming made the world of the South Australian pastoralist quite different from that of his counterparts in the eastern colonies. For most, investment in the pastoral industry did not become associated with a way of life on the land; it remained merely a way of making money.³⁵ The situation bred an attitude which one squatter, Price Maurice, displayed in the extreme. His principle was to hold land only on lease without making any attempt to secure freehold: as the farmers advanced he took up land further out. He relented only once - to buy an estate for his home near Adelaide.³⁶ Like Maurice, many other squatters made Adelaide the headquarters for

their operations.³⁷ They left their first holding in the hands of a manager, or abandoned it perforce to the farmers, took up leases on land in the outback or bought another freehold estate, and moved to Adelaide where they could more conveniently control their scattered interests. They were joined there by successful squatters who had begun on leaseholds in the outback and who moved to Adelaide because the harsh dry lands of the interior were no place for a family, a large house, or civilised society. The members of a Royal Commission into the pastoral industry who travelled through the outback country in 1891 encountered only one resident pastoralist; on all the other stations they visited they were entertained and supplied with information by managers. Evidence from the pastoralists themselves was taken in Adelaide.³⁸

From the beginning Adelaide had been a centre for men interested in land and sheep. Since land was being sold and Special Surveys made, occupying the land was not as important as being ready with capital where the auctions were held and the Surveyor General had his headquarters - in Adelaide. John Morphett who arrived with the first surveyors came to invest his own and others' wealth in land. He took up six Special Surveys. In 1839 he built Cummins a few miles west of the city where he resided until his death in 1892.³⁹ The city's importance was further enhanced because within five years of the colony's foundation a Legislative Council was sitting there. One of the chief reasons

why Samuel Davenport left his land in the country for a home in Adelaide was to enable him to attend meetings of the Council.⁴⁰ Morphett, also an original member of the Council, and Davenport were partners in several squatting ventures.⁴¹

It had also long been a common practice for men who had won their first wealth from trade or a profession, to take up land and run sheep without moving from their city homes. The lawyers A. G. Downer⁴² and R. C. Baker,⁴³ the agents H., F., and A. G. Rymill,⁴⁴ the surveyor C. B. Young,⁴⁵ the merchants or former merchants, Acraman,⁴⁶ Main,⁴⁷ Morgan,⁴⁸ Hay,⁴⁹ Whyte,⁵⁰ and Jones,⁵¹ and the financier Henry Scott⁵² were all substantial pastoralists. The most notable members of this group were the partners Thomas Elder and Robert Barr Smith, who financed their entry into the pastoral industry from the profits of their mercantile and mining ventures. Barr Smith owned a freehold estate in the mid-north and leased large tracts of land on Eyre Peninsula. Elder was the largest sheepowner in the colony and by far the largest leaseholder of pastoral land.⁵³ The partners were closely connected with the whole pastoral industry since they provided other pastoralists with finance and the chief business of Elder Smith and Co. was the trade in wool.⁵⁴ They assumed the pre-eminence within the industry formerly enjoyed by the two Browne brothers. The Brownes had arrived in the colony very early, one in 1838 and the other in 1840. They became the two largest stockholders with freeholds and leases scattered throughout the colony, and they helped to finance

the operations of some of their colleagues. In the mid sixties their partnership had dissolved and thereafter the brothers spent much of their time in England, where both eventually settled.⁵⁵ The Browne brothers had been genuine pioneers who had worked the land themselves, but neither Elder nor Barr Smith, after their arrival in the mid fifties, lived anywhere else but Adelaide.

The concentration of pastoralists in Adelaide was matched once a year by a similar concentration of the pastoral labour force. Before each shearing season, shearers and shedhands gathered in Adelaide. Instead of finding their own way to their employment, which was the practice elsewhere, the pastoral workers in South Australia were hired by the pastoralists in Adelaide through a number of private labour bureaux. The men then travelled to the stations at the pastoralists' expense. The Shearers Union had to allow for these special conditions when it extended its operations to South Australia in the late eighties. According to the Union's annual report for 1889, this distinctive practice had grown up because the outback country was so inhospitable that it was almost impossible for the workers to make their own way to the stations.⁵⁶ No doubt this was an important factor, but the practice may also have owed something to the presence in Adelaide of most of the leaseholders of the outback country and many other pastoralists as well. To meet this peculiar situation, the Union decided to open its first South Australian branch in Adelaide. This was the first branch in Australia to be established in a capital city.⁵⁷ By its

action the Union demonstrated Adelaide's pre-eminence as a centre for those engaged in the pastoral industry.

In contrast to the tendency elsewhere, most squatters in the South East resided on their properties. Of course they were subject to the same laws as the other squatters, but their isolation and the unsuitability of their land for farming gave them a sense of security which leaseholders elsewhere lacked. When the credit selection acts were passed some of the less committed squatters near the old settled districts could yield to the farmers and take up land further out,⁵⁸ but the South Eastern men were determined to hold on to their lands. The same factors which had helped them to establish themselves still worked in their favour. They found it easy to place dummies because there was less competition from the bona fide settlers, most of whom sought land near the old settled districts. The number of dummies in the South East was notorious.⁵⁹ Settlers who did get on to the land found it harder to survive, and they were hence more willing to sell out to their large neighbours.

On the South Eastern estates the squatters built large houses, and lived the life of a country gentry, with balls, hunts, coursing and race meets. They were active in the social life of the towns and endowed them with substantial Presbyterian and Anglican churches. When district councils were formed they were able to restrict their operations to the towns and their immediate environs so they did not have to pay rates on their large holdings. Their society was an extension of that established

in the Western District of Victoria, whence many of the South Eastern squatters had come.⁶⁰

Elsewhere there was either not the concentration of squatting properties or an insufficient number of resident owners for a society such as this to be formed. The Stirlings at Strathalbyn and the Angas family at Angaston were patrons of these townships, and in both these districts there were enough well-to-do young men to form a polo club.⁶¹ Around the Burra there was a group of squatters who gave money for churches, the hospital, and workingmen's cottages, and here, too, there was a polo club.⁶² But in none of these districts was there the succession of impressive country houses or the variety of social activity which were the features of the squatters' life in the South East.

North of Clare, there was a series of large estates, but here absentee ownership was very common. Two of the largest properties, Hill River and Willowie, were owned by Angas of Angaston whose properties were managed from an office in Adelaide. Canowie was run by the Rymills in Adelaide for English proprietors, and Booboorowie was the property of W. J. Browne, who had retired to Devon. The owners of Wirrabara and Booyoollee resided in Adelaide and left the management of the properties to their sons,⁶³ and Barr Smith was the absentee owner of The Hummocks. George Hawker had built a substantial homestead on Bungaree, but as a leading politician he spent most of his time at his more palatial residence in Adelaide.

A squatter who resided on his estate could suffer a degree of social isolation, as the owners of Martindale Hall in the mid-north discovered. Edmund Bowman built this mansion in an effort to persuade an English woman to marry him. He employed a London architect who presented him with a Georgian mansion, by far the most pretentious home in the north. The woman still refused to come, and he finally married the daughter of an Adelaide bank manager.⁶⁴ Bowman kept a set of harriers on the estate, and he, with his brothers, formed the backbone of the Burra polo team. But to indulge these sporting tastes properly they called upon Adelaide: riders and house guests went up for a hunt, and the polo team went to the city for a match or invited an Adelaide team to play them at home.⁶⁵ When Bowman met hard times he sold Martindale Hall to W. T. Mortlock, who was even more reliant on Adelaide for his rural pleasures. He invited members of the Adelaide Hunt Club to ride over his estate, and they went, hunters, hounds, house guests and horses all in the one train like a travelling circus.⁶⁶ Outside the South East, Adelaide was the only place to support a regular hunt club. As well as going to the city because it was a convenient centre from which to administer their affairs, squatters were drawn to Adelaide because only there could they enjoy a society of their equals.

South Australia's distinctive land legislation and an environment which favoured agriculture prevented the establishment of a squatters' society in most of the countryside. It was in the capital

that the pastoralists gathered in their greatest strength. Squatters came to Adelaide from their stations and men who had made their wealth in Adelaide took up land in the country. More typical of the pastoral industry in South Australia than a pioneer settling down on his run were the offices in Grenfell and Currie Streets, where squatters, lawyers and merchants read letters from their managers, scanned the Register for reports of rainfall in the country, and arranged for the transport and sale of their clip.

The continual movement of farmers into new areas was the most distinctive feature of agricultural development in South Australia between 1870 and 1914.⁶⁷ Almost all the settlers in the new areas were farmers and their sons from older districts. Lands Department records for two periods of six months in the seventies show in each case only a score of Adelaide men among some six hundred successful applicants for selections, and some of these held their farms under the substitute residence clause and were investors not farmers. There was a slightly larger group of country labourers and tradesmen, but the largest group, constituting well over 80% of the total, were the farmers from the old settled districts.⁶⁸ For the new lands opened later on Eyre Peninsula, in the Murray Mallee, and on the repurchased estates the pattern is the same: a handful of men came from Adelaide, and the rest from the established farming areas.⁶⁹ Auctions of large estates, which were common after 1905 when land prices were high, attracted farmers and

farmers' sons from all over the state.⁷⁰ One reason why farming continued to be successful in South Australia was because the new lands were settled by men who brought experience and some capital with them.

(South Australian farmers did not trek off into the unknown. Before the ketches sailed from the gulf ports with strippers, wagons, and horses for the two peninsulas, and before the little caravans set off to the north or the Murray Mallee, the farmer had gone before to spy out the land. He had to choose his section and decide how much he was prepared to pay for it. In the seventies a group of farmers at Grace Plains formed themselves into two committees of inspection: one went to the north and the other to Yorke Peninsula.⁷¹ In the early twentieth century farmers were cycling out to new areas, and on return, giving papers on the prospects of the new country to meetings of the local Bureau of Agriculture.⁷² Until 1888 all applications for land had to be made at the Adelaide Lands Office. In the first years of credit selection, application could be made by letter, but when a system of limited auction was introduced after 1872 as many as five hundred farmers crowded into the Adelaide Office to bid.⁷³ After 1888 Land Boards sat in Adelaide and in towns throughout the settled areas hearing applications for land.

After the new area had been inspected and a farm secured, some farmers went again to their new land to make preparations for the coming of the whole family. Joseph March, one of the Grace Plains

farmers who had planned the committees of inspection, took up land in the north in 1871. With his eleven year old daughter acting as cook and hut keeper, he spent the winter of 1871 on his new farm building a small house, putting up some fences, and fallowing eighty acres. Henry Pitcher, who farmed just north of Adelaide, took up land on Yorke Peninsula early in 1873. During that year he made four trips to his Peninsula farm where he ploughed the land, sowed a crop, and built a house. He led his family to their new home in December after the crop had been reaped on the old farm. Farmers moving to new lands were a familiar sight. Father drove the wagon, and the older children, or hired hands, the dray and spring cart: on the wagon were the furniture and the winnower, behind the dray the reaping machine, and in the cart, mother and the younger children. When the March family arrived at their new farm it was time to plough and sow; two days after he brought his family safe to Yorke Peninsula Henry Pitcher began to reap his second crop for that summer.⁷⁴

Several factors combined to keep farmers on the move. In the seventies many farms in the old districts were still limited to eighty acres, the size of the sections in the original surveys. Continuous cropping of these small farms had exhausted the soil.⁷⁵ At a time when prices were fluctuating and costs rising the acquisition of more land was the only way for the farmer to maintain his position.⁷⁶ In the new areas the farmer was allowed to take up to 640 acres on credit, and this was later increased to 1,000 acres.⁷⁷ New lands and

government credit also enabled farmers in the old districts to escape from landlords, agents and speculators, with whom so many had been obliged to deal.

The exodus from the old districts was such that between 1871 and 1881 the population of Counties Hindmarsh and Light, where farming had been concentrated, dropped by 20%.⁷⁸ The townships which had served these areas went into a decline, some storekeepers, blacksmiths, and millers having followed their customers into the new areas.⁷⁹ The land was accumulated into larger holdings, grazing became more common, and in many areas in the hills dairy cows and sheep completely replaced wheat. In some places, however, the land for a long period after the departure of the farmers simply lay idle.⁸⁰

In the second part of the period another group of farmers found their land could no longer support them. These were the men who held farms in what the poor seasons of the eighties and nineties showed to be only marginal lands. Farmers from the far north and along the eastern fringe of the settled areas were among the applicants for new land in the twentieth century.⁸¹ The land where they had tried to grow wheat gradually reverted to larger holdings given over to sheep.

Even when a farmer had acquired sufficient good land for himself, a single farm could not afford a living for his sons as well. Farmers took their family to new areas where their sons could also take up land, or else the sons left the family farm and with help from their father established themselves in a new locality.⁸² Migrations of the

whole family were probably more common in the early part of the period when small farms with exhausted soil would no longer support even one household: after 1900 superphosphate and improved methods could keep the family farm in good heart. A number of farmers and members of their families have left diaries and reminiscences, but the records of the Vennings are the most complete, and their story can be taken as an example of the movements of a farming family over several generations. The first Venning arrived in South Australia in 1850 and settled at Nairne in the hills about thirty miles from Adelaide. He died in 1869, just before the new lands were opened up, leaving four grown sons. William and John, the two younger sons, left the district first: they took up land at Crystal Brook 120 miles to the north. The other sons, Edward and George, left later and went further north for their land, to Quorn 200 miles from their father's farm. Edward had two sons, and George, four. None of these six remained in the Quorn district, which was marginal country. Three of the boys took up land at Pinnaroo in the Murray Mallee, one went to Coonalpyn, and one to Murray Bridge. All these five travelled over 200 miles south east to their new homes, and they were all then much closer to the original Venning farm at Nairne than their fathers were at Quorn. The sixth son from Quorn moved in the opposite direction, to Franklin Harbour on Eyre Peninsula. At Crystal Brook, William's farm passed to his son, and his son in turn still holds it today. John, the youngest son of the pioneer, sold his Crystal Brook farm in 1903, and took his family to Port Lincoln on Eyre Peninsula where he and

one of his sons took up over 3,000 acres each.⁸³ In a similar way other farming families scattered themselves through all the agricultural areas of the colony.⁸⁴

Besides wishing to maintain their position and help their sons to own land, farmers were driven on by the hope of achieving a competency. If they failed at farming they would sink into the ranks of the labourers; if they did well they could sell out and retire.⁸⁵ Many farmers moved from farm to farm hoping to improve their position. Biographies of farmers often tell of several moves: the record must surely be held by those who farmed in as many as six different localities.⁸⁶ In the days before superphosphate, men on the make took all they could out of the soil in a few years of continuous cropping, sold out to neighbours, to a less fortunate new-comer, or to a squatter anxious to recover part of his run, and then took up more land elsewhere. Some of these lived to regret their policy when they found themselves with plenty of land, but beyond the line of regular rainfall.⁸⁷ After 1900, when the phenomenon of the retired farmer became a matter for more comment, the way to retirement was to establish a good farm with substantial improvements, because superphosphate would ensure the continued fertility of its soil; and the strong demand for land brought high prices and gave owners enough capital to retire on.⁸⁸

When they had made their competency many farmers, perhaps the majority, chose to retire to Adelaide rather than to a country town.⁸⁹ A feature of the South Australian countryside was its lack of large towns. Port Pirie with 11,000 people in 1911 was the largest "rival"

Adelaide ever had, but like the other two major centres, Kadina and Moonta, it was a working class town in desolate surroundings with very little to recommend it. No country town was ever able to match the amenities of Adelaide, whose inhabitants enjoyed regular gas, water, and sewerage services from the seventies. To the old the city was also attractive because there they always had a good doctor and hospital close at hand.⁹⁰ These advantages were likely to weigh more heavily with a farmer and his wife who had been wanderers or whose children had settled elsewhere, since their connections with one rural locality would not have been strong. In this way hundreds of farmers made their last home in Adelaide; and in the country there were always many more, clearing scrub, digging tanks, and building farmhouses, for whom a home in Adelaide was their ultimate ambition.

SECTION 3THE COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL CAPITAL

The men who first possessed the Australian countryside did not till the soil; they grazed sheep. The sheep were shorn by a group of vagrants, and the fleece was sent to markets on the other side of the world. From the coastal towns stores for the sheep stations were hauled inland, and some of these - tea, sugar, clothing, wire - had themselves been brought across thousands of miles of ocean. When the farmer replaced the squatter on much of the good lands in South Australia this pattern was modified but not basically altered. In the farming districts the country was more closely settled and many towns grew up to serve the farmers. While all the wool clip was sent away to be processed elsewhere, some of the wheat crop went to local flour mills. But within six years of the colony's foundation enough wheat was being produced for local needs, and by the early fifties the export trade in wheat was substantial.¹ In the 1870s the first crops reaped from the virgin soil of the new areas were being shipped to Britain. Like the squatters, the farmers bought many imported goods when they shopped at the stores in the country towns. Squatters and farmers were both contributors to a thriving trade of export and import. From the beginning the South Australian countryside lay open to the world.

Of the wheat exported from South Australia after the harvest of 1870, 88% was shipped from Port Adelaide. The only other place with a substantial share of the exports was Port MacDonnell in

the South East which handled 8%. Ten years later only 46% of the exported wheat passed through Port Adelaide, and the amount exported from two South Eastern ports was insignificant. Now, more than half the exported wheat was shipped from new wheat ports in the North and on Yorke Peninsula. Port Adelaide's virtual monopoly of the wheat trade was ended. For the rest of the period a little less than half the exports was its portion.²

Until 1870 Adelaide and its port were the terminus for the colony's main railway system. The lines which had been built to the mining towns of Kapunda and Burra passed through the northern wheat lands and by 1870 they carried more wheat than copper to the capital. The re-orientation of the railway system began in 1870 with the opening of a tramway from Port Wakefield at the head of St. Vincent's Gulf to Hoyleton, 28 miles inland. This was designed to serve the northern portion of the old settled areas. Then in the next nine years railways were built to connect the new northern wheat lands with four ports on Spencer's Gulf - Wallaroo, Broughton, Pirie, and Augusta.* These all became ports for the export of wheat. Port Pirie, whose railway served the best lands, grew fastest; Port Broughton with a short line and an indifferent harbour was the smallest exporter. Railways were not built on Yorke Peninsula because no farm was more than fifteen miles from the sea. Along the peninsula's east and west coast there were a score of shipping places and several became ports for the export

* See Map II, Vol. 2.

of wheat.³ During the seventies Adelaide's railway system was extended to Morgan on the Murray, and to Hallett twenty miles north of Burra, but these additions did little or nothing to increase Adelaide's share of the wheat export trade.

While the pattern of the railways and the export figures proclaim "the triumph of the outports",⁴ the identity of the buyers and shippers of wheat along the new railway lines and at the new ports makes it clear that Adelaide had suffered no real reversal. Though a few local men handled some of the trade initially, the large firms based at Adelaide and its port, and one firm with its headquarters at Gawler, 25 miles north of the city, were active in the new areas from the beginning, and very soon afterwards they controlled almost all the export trade.⁵

Just at the time when the new areas were opened the nature of the export trade changed markedly. In the fifties and sixties the chief buyers of South Australian wheat had been the eastern colonies, but by 1870 their own production had increased, and the trade, especially with Victoria, fell sharply. The Adelaide wheat merchants had to look further afield for a market. In 1867 they sent more grain to Britain than to any other country. From 1873 Britain was regularly the largest buyer of South Australian wheat, and the proportion of total exports sent there steadily increased.⁶ If the northern areas and Yorke Peninsula had been opened up when most of the trade was with the eastern colonies, new local merchants may have been able to

establish themselves in the outports. But as the trade was changing to exports on a large scale to the other side of the world, the wheat business of the new areas fell easily to the established firms with ample capital and long experience.

The only challenge to the monopoly of the Adelaide merchants came from the South Australian Farmers Co-operative Union, formed at Jamestown in the mid-north in 1888. The Union began by selling corn sacks cheaply and storing wheat so the farmer could be more independent of the merchant. But when it became a shipper of wheat it conformed to the existing order more and challenged it less. In order to control its shipping business and extend its operations, the Union was obliged to move its headquarters to Adelaide, and the prices it offered never varied very much from those set by the few Adelaide firms which controlled the rest of the wheat trade.⁷

Most of the outports on the shores of the two gulfs did not become places of export until wheat grew in their hinterlands. When the squatters were the sole occupiers of the country most ports were only visited by coastal vessels which brought stores and took away wool. Since a pound of wool fetched many times the value of a pound of wheat, wool bales could be transported further before they were finally shipped for export. Apart from the South Eastern ports, the only outports to develop as exporters of wool were Port Augusta, at the head of Spencer's Gulf, and Port Victor on Encounter Bay, which shipped Murray and Darling wool.

Adelaide conducted very little of the wool trade in the South East. Some wool went by coaster to Adelaide, and the representative of Elder Smith at Kingston made shipments direct to England; but most of the clip was shipped to Melbourne. The leading merchant house at Kingston in the 1870s was a branch of the Victorian firm of John Grice and Co.⁸ The South Eastern squatter, situated mid-way between the two capital cities, preferred Melbourne to Port Adelaide because wool was shipped from the larger port at lower rates and with greater dispatch.⁹ So firm were these connections with Melbourne that in Adelaide it was sometimes feared that all the trade and perhaps the territory of the South East itself would pass to Victoria. But, as will be demonstrated shortly, there were by the 1870s other ties binding the South East to Adelaide.

At Port Victor and Port Augusta the wool trade was conducted by local merchants. Thus these two ports were more independent than those where wheat alone was exported by managers of Adelaide firms. However, in the shipment of wool the local merchants were reliant on the services of the Adelaide merchants and shipping companies, for whom they acted as agents. The connection with Adelaide was close: one of the merchants at Port Augusta was originally manager for a local branch of Elder's; when he subsequently bought the business he continued to send his wool in Elder's ships.¹⁰

During the seventies and early eighties Port Augusta exported about 15% of the colony's wool.¹¹ But its position as a wool exporter

was undermined by the sharp drop in wool production in the northern pastoral areas during the nineties. In the early part of the century the number of bales passing over the Port Augusta wharves began to increase again, but by then they were all loaded into coastal vessels bound for Port Adelaide.¹² Between 1870 and 1884 11% of the colony's wool exports were shipped at Port Victor on Encounter Bay.¹³ Port Adelaide was always a competitor for the Murray trade, on which Port Victor was solely reliant. In the seventies and eighties railways from Adelaide reached ports on the Murray - Morgan in 1878, Milang in 1884, Murray Bridge in 1886 - and they took a large share of the trade away from Port Victor in the south. Even before the railways were built wool was being carted overland from the river to Port Adelaide.¹⁴ In the eighties the leading merchant of the river trade opened an office in Adelaide which he eventually made the headquarters of his concern instead of Milang on Lake Alexandrina.¹⁵ By the end of the period wool exports at Port Victor had dwindled almost to nothing, as Adelaide took nearly all of what remained of the river trade. The last wool to be exported from Port Victor was shipped in 1916.¹⁶ The loss of the export trade meant little to Port Augusta since wool was still shipped from her wharves, even if only to Adelaide. For Port Victor the concentration of the trade in Adelaide was a serious blow. Because the government built and controlled the railways to the Murray and had the power to improve the harbour at Port Victor, the threat posed by Adelaide created a serious political dispute, which will be examined later.¹⁷

With the disappearance of the export trade at Port Victor and Port Augusta, Adelaide's share of the trade increased substantially. Between 1870 and 1884 it was 57%;¹⁸ by the end of the period it had risen to over 85%, with the South East ports handling the remainder.¹⁹ Adelaide merchants were anxious to concentrate trade in the one port to speed despatch and obtain lower freight rates.²⁰ Their position was strengthened as the practice of selling wool in the colonies became more common, because only the capital city had sufficient share of the trade to support wool auctions.²¹ To control the wheat trade Adelaide merchants took their business to the outports; they increased their control of the wool trade by bringing more wool to Adelaide.

The ships which took away wheat and wool brought a large variety of goods to the colony on their return voyage. While Port Adelaide's share of the trade in wool rose, and in wheat fell, during the period, its position as a centre of the import trade remained unchanged: never less than 90% of goods imported paid duty at Port Adelaide.²² None of the outports which shared the export trade served a large enough population to support a regular, direct import trade from overseas. The only regular imports to the outports were the "heavy" goods such as coke, coal and timber, which came chiefly from the other colonies.²³ Since Port Adelaide was the gateway to a city with a third of the colony's population in 1870 and a half in 1914, and since it was the nearest port to a large number of country people as well, the majority of the consumers and users of the imports

always lay within its hinterland. Accordingly, nearly all imports were brought first to Port Adelaide, and from there they were distributed throughout the colony - to Adelaide and its surrounding country areas, and to places which exported their wheat and wool from one of the outports. It was a common thing for ships from Britain to unload their cargo at Port Adelaide, or at Sydney and Melbourne, and then sail to collect wheat and wool from the outports.²⁴ In the seventies the wool ships collected a group of wharfies at Port Adelaide who were to load the ship at the outport.²⁵ Sometimes part of the cargo was left on board and taken on to the outport. Then the local storekeepers could stretch a point and advertise their new wares as being unloaded from ships direct from London.²⁶

Goods were usually sent to country storekeepers by road, rail, and coastal vessels.²⁷ Ketches carried the bulk of the trade by sea, but if goods were wanted quickly they could be sent by the coastal steamers, which were used more regularly in later years.²⁸ After all the railway systems were connected in the late eighties,* the coastal trade was not so vital, except for the two peninsulas, which were never connected by rail to the capital. Going out before the goods were the commercial travellers, who were the links between Adelaide merchants and the country storekeepers. In the early seventies the travellers formed themselves into an association, which pressed for stricter policing of country hotels to ensure better accommodation, and which

* See Map III, Vol. 2.

sought concession rates for members and for their samples on the railways and the coastal steamers.²⁹

It was partly through the import trade that Adelaide strengthened its connections with the South East. After 1866 when Victoria adopted a protectionist policy Adelaide was given an advantage over Melbourne because goods imported into South Australia were still subject only to a revenue tariff. A manifest book of one of the coastal steamers calling at South Eastern ports in the early seventies shows that many of the large Adelaide merchants were doing business there.³⁰ A contemporary observer estimated that in 1869 two-thirds of the imported goods received in the South East came from Adelaide.³¹ The Victorian tariff was also indirectly responsible for another development which brought the South East closer to the rest of the colony. After Victoria had imposed a duty on the import of wheat, the South Australian government, led by a flourmiller and a wheat merchant, retaliated in 1870 with a duty on potatoes, which South Australians bought in large quantities from Victoria.³² This duty encouraged the growing of potatoes in the rich volcanic soil around Mount Gambier. By 1880 this area was the colony's major potato producer.³³ Ships which took goods to the South East returned with potatoes for the Adelaide market. Immediately after Federation, when the removal of border customs duties had again raised fears that South Australia might lose the South East to Victoria, there was an impressive combination of Adelaide firms urging the South

Australian government to protect their substantial interest in the area.³⁴

Adelaide was interested in the real property of the country as well as in its trade. Land remained throughout the period the most common form of investment. Some people bought land merely as a speculation. Others leased it to farmers or farmed it themselves. Of the 129 estates over 5,000 acres examined by the Lands Department in 1890, several were leased or let to farmers and owned by Adelaide capitalists, or were managed from Adelaide for British investors.³⁵ The largest of these estates was owned by the South Australian Company. Formed in London before the colony was established, this company held its land in the oldest of the settled districts within fifty miles of the capital. The owners of the other estates were Churcher, Martin and Churcher, a British firm, the flourmillers and wheat merchants John Darling and James Cowan, and the land agent Robert Stuckey. These were not compact estates; they consisted of individual farms spread through many Hundreds. Apart from these large proprietors, many individuals in Adelaide, like Justices Way and Boucaut, owned one or two properties in the country.³⁶ Among those who supplied information on the cost of farming operations to a Royal Commission in 1875 were C. B. Young and E. A. Wright, two of Adelaide's largest land agents and speculators.³⁷

Until 1871 good quality crown lands could be bought for cash

at auction. After that date opportunities for investment in land were limited a little because the only sections offered for sale at auction were those which the farmers had not selected on credit. However, since residence upon selections was not compulsory an Adelaide investor could select the maximum area and place a substitute resident upon it. He could also buy township allotments because these continued to be sold at auction. The Grant Books tell how frequently Adelaide land agents and speculators were the purchasers of large portions of government townships.³⁸ P. D. Pranker, an Adelaide agent, bought one quarter of Naracoorte for himself and his clients.³⁹ Particular interest was shown in land at the larger outports. Adelaide people owned most of the waterfrontages at Port Pirie and Port Augusta.⁴⁰

Money was also invested in country land through loans to farmers. The clearest signs of this interest were the country branches of the various city-based banks. The banks which did all or a large part of their business in South Australia were the most eager to establish themselves throughout the country. The Bank of Adelaide, the Bank of South Australia and the National Bank followed the farmers from the old settled areas and set up branches in the new townships.⁴¹ Many individuals in Adelaide also loaned money to the farmer on the security of his land or stock.⁴² The metropolitan weeklies and the country papers always carried advertisements from Adelaide land agents offering not only to buy land for the farmer,

but also to arrange loans. Lending money on mortgage was probably more common than speculation in land.⁴³ Whether as mortgagees, owners, or speculators Adelaide capitalists, both large and small, had an interest in great tracts of the country's land.

Adelaide's position as the commercial and financial capital of the colony was undisputed. In its manufacturing industries, however, the country was more independent. While some industries, such as boots, shoes, and clothing, were always concentrated in the city, others began as typically rural concerns. During the prosperous years of the seventies every agricultural township of any size could boast of a flour mill, an agricultural implement factory, and some had a brewery as well. But during the period these establishments disappeared from many country towns, and Adelaide's hold over the three industries increased significantly.⁴⁴

The number of breweries operating in the colony had reached a maximum of 43 in 1868, ten of these being in the metropolitan area. Thereafter more breweries were closed in the country than new ones opened, so that by 1888 only ten remained in operation.⁴⁵ In that year Adelaide's two leading brewing firms combined to form the South Australian Brewing Company. Between them, these two firms then owned or leased 45 hotels in country towns all through the colony, including the South East.⁴⁶ To these towns and probably to others, Adelaide beer was being sent. The new company bought breweries and acquired more

tied houses in the country.⁴⁷ By 1914 there were only thirteen breweries remaining in the state, and most of these were in Adelaide.

As independent economic units country flour mills survived a little better than breweries, chiefly no doubt because their raw material was at hand. The number of mills increased until 1879 when 103 were in operation in the country, and six in Adelaide. But Adelaide's hold over the industry was already strong. The six Adelaide mills employed one sixth of the work force in the industry,⁴⁸ and the Adelaide millers owned many of the larger mills in the districts first settled in the seventies.⁴⁹ In the early eighties, as prosperity waned, the number of mills operating in the colony dropped to eighty. In 1882 three Adelaide millers and one from Gawler, who all owned mills in the north and on Yorke Peninsula, came together to form the Adelaide Milling and Mercantile Company, which consolidated the hold of the capital over the industry.⁵⁰ The continual closing of the country mills even after the return of prosperity in the twentieth century indicated the precarious nature of the individual miller's existence. In 1914 there were about forty mills left in the country.

The number of agricultural implement factories listed in the official returns fluctuated widely. There were 57 in 1870, and 54 in 1914, but in the depth of the depression in 1896 there were only 18 at work. Generally the number followed the rise and fall in the fortunes

of agriculture. The figures are not very satisfactory because individual concerns differed widely, not only, as in flour milling and brewing, in the amount, but also in the nature of their output. While some produced a wide range of complicated machinery, others were probably little more than repair shops.

Before the agricultural expansion of the seventies, substantial implement factories were established at Kapunda, Gawler, and Mount Barker, as well as in Adelaide. From all these places branch managers were sent to establish factories in the new areas.⁵¹ Though new firms were formed as a result of the increased demand for machinery, in several towns in the north the implement factory, like the flour mill, was owned by southern interests. By the time Eyre Peninsula and the Pinnaroo country were opened in the early twentieth century, the implements in use and the conditions of trade had changed markedly. Strippers were being replaced by the more complex combine harvesters; Federation had introduced manufacturers to nation-wide competition; and imported American machines were appearing on the market. The factory supplying all the needs of the farmers in the locality was almost a relic of the past. The farmers on Eyre Peninsula and along the Pinnaroo line collected most of their machinery from the railway siding or the head of the jetty. In the older country areas some firms managed to adjust to the new conditions,⁵² but many succumbed or had to content themselves with a minor role. At Gawler, at one time hailed as the Sheffield of the South, the collapse was

complete. Martins, which had employed 700 men in the late nineteenth century in the manufacture of locomotives, mining machinery and agricultural implements, went into liquidation in 1907. The plant was then divided. One part was worked for a short time by a local company formed in an effort to keep the industry alive. In 1915 the other was acquired by an Adelaide firm which eventually closed it down in 1928. May Brothers, the second Gawler firm, was in difficulties early in the century, but it struggled on until 1924.⁵³ With the widening of competition, Adelaide, centrally situated within the state and the focus for the interstate trade by rail and sea, became the safest place for the manufacture of agricultural implements.⁵⁴

It seems that the only country towns to enjoy any real measure of independence were those like Gawler and Mount Barker, neither more than thirty miles from the capital, which were founded in the early years in the centre of rich agricultural districts. In both places an agricultural implement maker, and a flour miller and wheat merchant established themselves so successfully that they were able to expand and open branches in new areas in the seventies. The two Mount Barker men had previously opened branches in the capital. These four men - Martin and Duffield at Gawler, Ramsay and Dunn at Mount Barker - continued to live in the towns where they first made their money. They were mayors, patrons, donors to worthy causes, and all four at various times represented their town and district in parliament.⁵⁵ The towns settled later, though further from Adelaide, were more commonly peopled

with branch managers and agents rather than resident proprietors.

Adelaide's interest in the country's manufacturing industries became more widespread during the period and it continued to invest and speculate in country lands, but these were limited interests compared with its total control of the wheat trade, its near monopoly in the handling of the import trade, and its large and growing share of the export trade in wool. We have seen how the northern railways focussed on the outports gave a misleading impression as to who was conducting the trade of the area. It was the telegraph, the other great innovation of the nineteenth century, which reflected Adelaide's role more clearly. By the sixties main lines had reached to Port Augusta in the North, Wentworth in western New South Wales, and Mount Gambier in the South East; and from these, branch lines connected other country towns to the city.⁵⁶ The system was focussed on Adelaide. By this means Adelaide men could control the movement of money and goods throughout the colony hour by hour.⁵⁷

SECTION 4VISITING ADELAIDE

The practice of country people visiting the city was well established in 1870 when the closely settled districts were nearly all within a seventy mile radius of the capital. In the following decades settlement spread much further, but from new areas and old a steady stream of visitors continued to flow to Adelaide. Travel between the new districts and the city was comparatively easy. Railways quickly followed the settlers into the new northern wheat lands, and all these districts had a daily service to Adelaide from 1884.¹ In the Murray Mallee in the early twentieth century the building of railways accompanied the first settlement of the land. Lower Yorke Peninsula and Eyre Peninsula remained without a rail link to the capital, but they were well served by the coastal steamships.² The South East initially relied on steamers for travel to the city and after 1887 it was also connected by rail.

More country people were in Adelaide at Show time than at any other. The papers regularly spoke of "the invasion from the country" during February and September when the Royal Agricultural and Horticultural Society held its Autumn and Spring Shows. In September 1913 12,500 people, or almost 10% of the adult population in the country, travelled by train to the Show.³ Many more would have come by road and sea. Most country towns of any size ran an agricultural show, but the country societies were poor, and the multiplicity of mediocre shows

was often deplored. No town was large or central enough to conduct a worthwhile provincial show. Schemes to amalgamate small country show societies broke down through the jealousies of storekeepers and publicans who wanted the show in their town.⁴ This left the Adelaide Show pre-eminent.

In 1875 a parliamentary committee enquiring into agricultural education considered whether the Agricultural Society should occasionally hold its Show in some country centre. However, a majority of people who answered a questionnaire sent out by the committee wanted to keep the Show in Adelaide. One said that when visiting Adelaide for the Show people could attend to business as well, for "all country people have some business in the city".⁵ He was referring no doubt to the substantial country people, the larger farmers and the business men, not to labourers or struggling farmers. Henry Pitcher, a large farmer on Yorke Peninsula, records in his diary the nature of the business he transacted during regular trips to the city. He bought a chaff cutter, an American broadcaster sower, iron and timber for the farmhouse, and arranged for their shipment to the Peninsula. He paid Dunn's (the wheat merchant) account for bags, renewed his subscription to the Garden and Field, and paid part of the purchase money on his farm. On many occasions he merely notes "concluded purchases", but on one visit he lists these - groceries, drapery, ironmongery, fruit trees, and buggy harness. During this trip a dispute with the government over the lease of some scrub land took him to the Land Office three times

before the matter was settled. Business could also mean public business. Soon after settlement had begun on the Peninsula Pitcher went to Adelaide as a delegate of the local residents to petition the government for a school.⁶

Such a variety of business would have been conducted during Show weeks, but the political business came to assume a special prominence. At the Show the people met their legislators and Ministers. At the 1871 September Show "A majority of the Ministers came down together, and traversed the grounds in state, the observed of all observers; a majority of the members of the two Houses were present, mingling freely amongst their gratified constituents".⁷ In the early twentieth century the government always invited the farmers to spend one day of their holiday at the Roseworthy Agricultural College, an occasion which gave members and Ministers a chance to woo the rural vote.⁸ In 1908 the government arranged for country people to inspect the construction work at the new Outer Harbour and 1,500 farmers and their wives left the Adelaide railway station in special trains. The group was divided into two, the Premier accompanying one, and the leader of the Opposition the other.⁹ To enable this good work to go on parliament always adjourned for at least a day. As the Show lengthened and the political work became more arduous the adjournment was extended to two days, and in 1914 the present practice of adjourning for a week was adopted. For Ministers the chief business of Show week became the reception of deputations.¹⁰ Hundreds of these - varying from two or three local

representatives wanting a bridge to two hundred irate farmers complaining about rabbits¹¹ - came to Adelaide all the year round, but Show week became the deputation time par excellence.

The press reports of meetings between Ministers and deputations ran to many columns and, like the reports of the Show itself, were listed under the headings First Day, Second Day, and so on.

From 1879 conferences and public meetings of bodies hoping to influence or form governments were a regular feature of Show weeks. In the eighties delegates came to meetings of the Farmers Association; in the next decade to those of the National Defence League; and in the early twentieth century four political parties were meeting and clamouring for the allegiance of country people.¹² The Labour Party attempted to gather in the uncommitted with Farmers' Days when its most able men addressed farmers at Sunday afternoon meetings in the Botanic Park.¹³

"The journey to Adelaide is always looked forward to as a holiday", wrote one country man in support of his view that the Royal Show should be held only in the city.¹⁴ To see Adelaide was also regarded as an education, especially for the young native born who had not known it as immigrants. Chief among Adelaide's wonders were the Botanic Gardens. The Director of the Gardens reported in 1870 that in an average week there were 2,500 visitors from Monday to Saturday, and that most of these were country people. He wished only that the city people who were his chief patrons on Sundays were as well behaved.¹⁵

On Sundays there were no trains from the country, a situation much regretted by several hundred working people in the Gawler district who could not, like the farmers and businessmen, take a few days off for a trip to town. In 1883 they petitioned Parliament for a return railway service on Sundays so they could see "the many improvements in and around Adelaide, including the Torrens Lake, Botanic Gardens etc., which many of your humble petitioners only know by reading of".¹⁶ In the early seventies Adelaide's only collection of animals was housed in the Botanic Gardens, which made that place doubly attractive. In 1883 the Zoo was opened, and it joined the Gardens as a symbol of all that was metropolitan, a mecca for country children, their teachers and parents.¹⁷ Writing in old age, two people born in the country recorded other attractions which Adelaide held for them in their youth - the Art Gallery, the Museum, the photographers' studios, a cyclorama depicting the Battle of Waterloo, and a second hand book shop.¹⁸

Country people were regularly in town on business trips and holidays. At Show time business was brisker and the pleasure heightened. The city laid itself out to cater for the country people. Tailors advertised that they would fit a countryman with a new suit in six hours,¹⁹ opticians invited him to have his eyes tested while he was in town,²⁰ and Wests Picture Theatre put on special shows for country people.²¹ While he was in town the countryman had the chance to meet his Adelaide friends and relations and those from other country districts. The

metropolis took on the air of a market town.

Many country people went to Adelaide because they were ill. During the period 1870-1914 between 500 and 700 country people were admitted to the Adelaide Hospital each year.²² For more than thirty years the Adelaide Hospital was the only public hospital in the colony. Patients travelled hundreds of miles by land and sea to be received there.²³ In the late sixties and early seventies the government built a substantial hospital at Mt. Gambier in the South East and smaller ones at Port Augusta, Port Lincoln and Wallaroo. This still left Adelaide the nearest, or most readily accessible, hospital to all the old agricultural areas north and south of the capital, and to the newly settled areas in the north and on Yorke Peninsula. Patients came from all these districts to Adelaide during the seventies, when one in every three inmates of the Adelaide Hospital was a country resident. In the late seventies local committees with considerable government assistance established hospitals at Burra, Kapunda and Jamestown; and these, together with a government institution opened at Port Pirie in 1891, served the northern agricultural districts and the north east country.²⁴ However, from Yorke Peninsula all hospital cases were still sent by ketch or coastal steamer to Adelaide.²⁵ Residents of the Peninsula did not have local hospitals until the return of prosperity in the twentieth century, when between 1910 and 1914 twelve new hospitals were opened throughout the state.²⁶ Even with the gradual growth of country

hospitals hundreds of country people continued to enter the Adelaide Hospital. For specialist treatment a trip to Adelaide was still necessary since many of the country hospitals were only served by one doctor and a few nurses. If patients had to make a considerable journey, some went to Adelaide rather than to a nearer country hospital, perhaps because they had more faith in the metropolitan institution, perhaps because they felt more certain that they would be received there than at a smaller hospital in an unknown locality.

For most of the period public hospitals were generally used only by the poorer classes. The rest of the population were usually treated in their homes or in some private institution. Country people of some means went to Adelaide for medical treatment, though they did not enter the Adelaide Hospital. They went, as their diaries and reminiscences show, to consult specialists or general practitioners in whom they could put more reliance than some of their country colleagues.²⁷ For every country patient in the Adelaide Hospital there was probably another in a hotel, lodgings, or private hospital. It was Adelaide's position as a medical centre which partly explains why old people were attracted to it.

Children went to Adelaide for extended visits to attend school. In the country the government provided primary, but not secondary, schools. Secondary education for boys was left solely to church and private colleges. Because there were no church schools for

girls and few good private colleges, the government built and maintained the Advanced School for Girls in Adelaide. This was the only secondary school supported by public funds.

Most of the colleges for boys were in Adelaide. In the country the Lutherans conducted colleges and seminaries at Hahndorf and Point Pass, and there was one private college at Watervale. Several attempts were made to establish others, but none seems to have remained open for long. Though parents in the country who could not afford or did not wish to send their sons to Adelaide welcomed these attempts, there does not seem to have been enough demand in any one area to make them successful.²⁸ This was the argument used against proposals that the government should run secondary schools in the country.²⁹ Any secondary school the government might have built would have charged quite substantial fees - as the Advanced School for Girls did³⁰ - because the government was not committed to offering secondary education to all. Fee-charging government schools in the country would have had no better chance of success than the private endeavours. So it was not until after 1907 when the government began to open free district high schools that secondary education was widely available in the country.³¹ Before that time most country children who received a secondary education received it in Adelaide. Even after district high schools were established, some country pupils preferred to go to Adelaide High, which was the best high school. The government recognised this by offering special scholarships to district high pupils to enable

them to finish their secondary education at Adelaide High and so have a chance of winning a bursary which gave four years free tuition at the University. Bursaries were open to students of all high schools, but in the years up to 1915 they were all won by students of Adelaide High.³²

Though in the nineteenth century the government was not committed to providing secondary education, it did offer a few scholarships to children in state schools to take them on to a secondary institution.³³ Generally the scholarship boys went to St. Peter's or Prince Alfred College in Adelaide, and the girls to the Advanced School for Girls. Until 1899, when some scholarships were set aside for children in small schools only very rarely did a country pupil ever win one.³⁴ The qualifying examination tested more than the set syllabus,³⁵ so only the better teachers in the larger metropolitan schools were able to prepare pupils properly for it. Since they could not win scholarships, able students of poor parents had to acquire their secondary education by a much more arduous road - they became pupil teachers. For four years they helped the teachers in the classroom and took lessons from the headmaster before or after school. Twice a year they trekked off to Mt. Gambier, Moonta or Adelaide - after 1892 they all had to come to Adelaide - to be examined. The government would reimburse their fares, but only if they passed. Those who survived this rigorous apprenticeship then spent a year at the Teachers Training College in Adelaide with the opportunity of attending

some lectures at the University. In 1900 the system was changed. The pupils spent their first two years at a pupil teachers school in Adelaide, and then two years as assistants in the classroom. After the four year course the best students returned to the University Training College.³⁶ For poor children who became pupil teachers the path to advancement led through Adelaide.

Sometimes country people were reluctant visitors to the capital. Their complaints about the danger and inconvenience of having to take the sick and injured to Adelaide led to the provision of government funds for country hospitals. Some parents would have preferred to have sent their children to a local secondary school rather than to one in Adelaide. But each year thousands went willingly to Adelaide to have a holiday, to visit the Show, and to meet friends and relations. For them, Adelaide was a welcome part of the country's world.

SECTION 5A GENTRY IN ADELAIDE

Adelaide was, as we have seen, the headquarters of pastoralists and mineowners, and the financial and commercial capital of the colony. It was thus the home of the great majority of South Australia's rich men.¹ They were the chief members of Adelaide's Society, which brought urban and rural wealth together. Apart from the connections made by social ties and intermarriage,² many individuals in themselves represented a variety of urban and rural interests. Merchants and professional people in the city invested in mining and grazing.³ Pastoralists who moved from the country to Adelaide had many opportunities to extend their interests. There were few who did not find seats on local boards of banks and insurance companies.⁴ Among the promoters and early directors of the Bank of Adelaide the squatting fraternity was well represented, by Tarlton, Magery, Crozier and Hay.⁵ City property worth thousands of pounds gave the pastoralists J. F. Cudmore, Newland, Hay, and Tennant valuable alternative sources of income.⁶ Horn,⁷ Hawker,⁸ Newland,⁹ H. S. Price,¹⁰ John Bagot,¹¹ Waite,¹² and John Williams¹³ all profited from large holdings of Broken Hill mining shares.

The two leading men in Society were Thomas Elder and Robert Barr Smith, whose partnership in the wool broking and shipping business of Elder Smith and Co. gave them resources for many other enterprises. In 1860 the partners provided the capital to open the Wallaroo and Moonta

mines; on the profits of this venture they bought and leased huge tracts of grazing land.¹⁴ Barr Smith was one of the promoters and later Chairman of Directors of the Bank of Adelaide and in 1875 he became first Chairman of the Adelaide Steamship Company.¹⁵ As merchants, mineowners, pastoralists, bankers, and shipowners they were pre-eminent. The diversity of their interests mirrors that of the Society which they led.

Because of this diversity it is difficult to identify individuals by a single occupation. However, if men are labelled according to the manner in which they first acquired their competence or by their profession it can be said that the largest groups in Society were pastoralists, lawyers, merchants, and financiers. The rest included land agents, brewers, flour millers, and doctors.¹⁶ Membership of Society seems to have been open to anyone with wealth so long as they were not shopkeepers, which was all that remained of the ancient prejudice against "trade".¹⁷ However, some were accepted chiefly because of their education or profession: among these were leading civil servants, academics, the Bishop and a few Anglican clergymen.

Though they lived in the metropolis, members of Society were not confined to an urban way of life. In fact in Adelaide the wealthy came nearest to realising their ambition of recreating the life of English country gentlemen. Except in the South-East, as section two pointed out,¹⁸ the country was bereft of a gentry class large enough

to sustain a life of its own. As a result, the way was open for members of Society in Adelaide to become in some respects a gentry for the whole colony. This section will describe their private life and public role.

The houses of the rich were widely scattered over the Adelaide area.¹⁹ The wealthy did not congregate into one district which they made exclusively their own; there was no Adelaide equivalent to Melbourne's Toorak and South Yarra. Some continued to live within the boundaries of the city itself. By the 1870s the leading doctors and surgeons had established their homes on North Terrace. On the other side of the Terrace was Government House, a rambling mansion which reached its present proportions in the 1870s. Sir Henry Ayers, who made his fortune from the Burra mine, lived at the eastern end of the Terrace in Austral House to which he made the last of many additions in 1874.²⁰ In North Adelaide the most impressive residence was Montefiore, the three storey home of Samuel Way, Chief Justice from 1876 and later Chancellor of the University and Lieutenant Governor.²¹ A few doors away was the home of the Anglican Bishop, with whom Way was on excellent terms despite his nonconformity. In this esteemed company many lesser mansions were built during the seventies and eighties in Brougham and Palmer Places, North Adelaide, and on South and East Terrace, South Adelaide.²² None of the great city houses was a town house in the English style; around all of them was room for quite extensive gardens. But those who wanted in addition,

park, orchard and vineyard, and a sweeping drive leading up to the house turned their eyes beyond the city's borders where they could also hope to avoid the smells and dust which made city life so unpleasant especially in the summer.

Adelaide lay between the hills and the sea in the centre of a rich and well watered plain. The city was surrounded by farms, orchards, olive groves, vineyards, and market gardens. By 1870 suburbs had grown up on its north western and on part of its eastern boundary, but elsewhere open fields still abutted the parklands.²³ A few miles beyond the suburbs and the parklands there were a number of small villages, which had grown up in the first place to serve the rural community, but which from the 1850s had also become the home of many of Adelaide's wealthy.²⁴ Mansions and large villas were built in the countryside all round the city, but they were concentrated in the villages, at Woodville mid way between the city and the Port, at Walkerville in the Torrens Valley to the north east of the city, and on the rising ground towards the hills at Magill, Burnside, Glen Osmond, and Mitcham.

The villages were the places usually chosen by squatters who came to Adelaide to make their homes. In the fifties Samuel Davenport settled at Beaumont House, Burnside,²⁵ and J. P. Hughes retired from his mid northern station to St. Clair, Woodville, to which he added a ballroom and a second storey.²⁶ In 1862 Daniel Cudmore left his sons in charge of his pastoral properties in the north and western Queensland

and bought Hartley Bank at Glen Osmond, which he rebuilt and re-named Claremont.²⁷ When one of his sons in his turn moved to Adelaide in the eighties he built an Italianate mansion at Brighton, one of the rare examples of boom style in Adelaide. He named it Paringa Hall, after the family's sheep station at Renmark.²⁸ Peter Waite came to Adelaide in the seventies and bought Urrbrae, midway between Glen Osmond and Mitcham.²⁹ He had worked on Elder's sheep runs, first as a manager and later as a partner. After his return to Adelaide he became a director of Elder's Wool and Produce Company and subsequently Chairman of Directors of Elder Smith and Co.³⁰ Another refugee from the dry interior was Simpson Newland. He left his station on the Darling in 1876 and moved to Undelcarra, Burnside, where he wrote his best selling novel Paving the Way and his Memoirs.³¹ There were many other squatters in the villages - Duncan, Riddoch and Price at Mitcham; Crozier at Marion; Horn and Hawker at Walkerville; Murray, Swann, Reid and Love at Magill. They had left their stations for a more pleasant countryside.

Elder and Barr Smith both lived in the villages, Elder at Birksgate, Glen Osmond, and Barr Smith at Torrens Park, Mitcham. Just as they were the two leading men in the financial and business world, so their homes were the grandest of the great houses. Elder purchased Birksgate in the sixties and set about its transformation. He built a new wine house, and to supply the vineyards, garden and the house with water, he dammed the Glen Osmond creek. In the garden he built a conservatory, part of which was heated by hot water pipes so he

could grow tropical flowers and fruit. Another part of the ground was devoted to the zoo. Here there were rare poultry, elks, deer, camels, water-buffalo as well as Australian - wallabies, wombats, emus and kangaroos. In the seventies Elder was employing twelve men to care for his estate. The house itself was transformed by the addition of verandahs at the front and large extensions at the rear. Since Birksgate was beyond the mains of the Adelaide gas supply, Elder installed a gas plant of his own. After passing along dark streets, Elder's guests found the house and ballroom a blaze of light, and those who tired of dancing could walk safely through the lighted garden to the conservatory to marvel at the strange things flourishing there.³² However, since Elder was a bachelor, Birksgate was not the liveliest of the great houses; that distinction fell to Torrens Park, the home of Elder's partner, his sister, and their young family. Torrens Park took its name from its first owner, Robert Torrens, an early Collector of Customs. When Barr Smith bought the house in the seventies an orangery, vineyard and orchard were well established and the Brown Hill Creek had been dammed to form a large ornamental lake. The house itself was still fairly modest. The Barr Smiths added a new wing, a conservatory, and beyond this, the pièce de résistance, a large theatre and ballroom capable of accommodating several hundred people.³³ The Torrens Park balls and the evenings of tableaux and charades which Mrs Barr Smith organised were the high points of Adelaide's social calendar.³⁴

Spread out as they were all round the city, the great houses became well known to those who never went through their gates. Before the trees planted on the estates grew tall most of the houses could be seen from the road, but even when the view was obscured the gates and lodge houses and the very size of the properties were still impressive. The estates of Torrens Park, Urrbrae and St. Clair were in the vicinity of 250 acres, Linden and Birksgate about 100, Wotton Lea, Undelcarra and Claremont each about 50 acres. Those closer to the city were smaller, The Briars at Medindie, fourteen, The Acacias at Marryatville, seven.³⁵ No one who lived in Adelaide and its suburbs could journey to the hills or the sea without passing these mansions. Those who crammed the trains to Glenelg in the summer passed alongside the line of pines which marked the boundary of Sir John Morphett's Cummins. The train line to the hills passed the gates of Torrens Park and skirted its western boundary. The road to National Park passed through Urrbrae, and the railway to the Port, the St. Clair estate. Travellers on the main south eastern road passed Benacre, the home of the financier and pastoralist Henry Scott, and a little^{further} on, journeyed alongside Birksgate's wall. Picnickers on their way east to the hills passed several stately mansions. So well known did the houses become that in more than twenty cases when the properties were finally subdivided the name of the old house or its owner was given to the new group of suburban villas which stood on its grounds.³⁶ Thus Barr Smith's address had been Torrens Park, Mitcham,

but when the property was sold, a new suburb, Torrens Park, came into being. It is today a rather exclusive suburb; in the nineteenth century the whole area had one name, and the rich man in his castle and the poor man at his gate both gave their address as Mitcham.

Because of this pattern of settlement the gentlemen in the great houses did not mix only with their fellows: they became involved with the village community outside their gates. At Woodville J. B. Hughes and his successors at St. Clair led the fight to have their locality separated from the district council of Hindmarsh which was dominated by the industrial suburbs adjacent to the parklands. A separate Woodville district council was finally formed in 1874. Captain J. W. Smith, shipping agent, was its first chairman and he was followed by David Bower, merchant, of St. Clair.³⁷ At Mitcham Barr Smith gave the land to the Sisters of St. Joseph for their convent and his son later helped the Institute with the perennial problem of meeting mortgage repayments.³⁸ Both Mr and Mrs Barr Smith were renowned for their willingness to help the poorer villagers in times of hardship.³⁹ Sir Samuel Davenport of Beaumont House earned the gratitude of the people of Burnside by his gift of land for a public park which became known as Beaumont Common.⁴⁰ When Glen Osmond decided it wanted a new Institute building in the seventies, the committee asked Miss Boothby, daughter of the late Judge Boothby of The Glen, to lay the foundation stone and her brother to become chairman of the

trustees. For the opening of the building G. S. Fowler who had contributed to the committee's funds came down from Wotton Lea to present a bag of sweets to each school child at the ceremony.⁴¹ In 1905 the local branch of the Our Boys Institute was favoured with the patronage of Henry Scott of Benacre; and among its vice-presidents were Pridmore of Woodley, and Pope, a solicitor who had bought Sunnyside.⁴² There was no public park or reserve at Glen Osmond. The cricket club was reliant on the local landowners to provide them with a playing field, and Elder allowed the Glen Osmond and Mitcham Volunteers to drill in the grounds of Birksgate.⁴³ At Magill John Baker, squatter of Morialta, was president of the first Institute committee which was formed in the late fifties.⁴⁴ At a public meeting called in 1882 it was announced that a daughter of Dr. Penfold, founder of Magill and Penfold Wines, had offered some land for a new Institute building. Among the gentlemen present at the meeting were E. T. Smith of The Acacias, brewer, Joseph Uren of Woodforde House, merchant, and A. B. Murray of Murray Park, squatter. Murray and Uren were elected trustees, together with a printer, bank clerk, and local storekeeper. Smith was appointed to a large general committee to which were added the names of many notables who were not present at the meeting.⁴⁵

The rich who gave money and laid foundation stones for Institutes had themselves no need for their services, but they were both members and patrons of the local church. As well as attending

services, they served as wardens and lay readers, contributed to building funds, and paid for stained glass windows, choir vestries and entrance porches in memory of the dead among their families.⁴⁶ Beyond the city and its immediate suburbs, the Anglican church attracted the majority of wealthy worshippers. Apart from the Methodists and Baptists, it was only the Anglicans who maintained a church in each of the villages. Their names are well known, for they have become the fashionable churches - St. Andrew's, Walkerville; St. Margaret's, Woodville; St. George's, Magill; St. Matthew's, Marryatville; St. Saviour's, Glen Osmond; and St. Michael's, Mitcham. They were all built in the forties and fifties, and though porches, towers and transepts were added later, they kept the simple charm of an early unpretentious era. They were typical of the villages themselves, for though better and cheaper transport enabled more people to live in the villages, they retained to the end of the period a predominantly rural aspect.

From their second storey verandahs and three storied towers the rich could still look out on open fields and see the almond trees blossom in ^{July/Aug} September and the rows of vines and olives which kept their greenness through the harsh summer. Here they were able to imagine themselves country gentlemen. On their own properties they had laid out gardens and parks, and planted orchards, orangeries and vineyards, and some found the opportunity to become patrons of village life in the tradition of the English squire. But the village was not their horizon. When they lifted their eyes they could see to the boundaries of the area which was Adelaide. Those who built on the slopes to the

south and east could look down across the plains to the line of the sea from Brighton to the Port, those who lived nearer the coast could look up to the hills from Brighton to Magill; and in the centre of the plain were the chimney stacks and spires of the city itself. Their connection with the villages had never rivalled their attachment to Adelaide and a wider society.

In the later sixties and early seventies the life of Adelaide Society became more refined and a regular pattern of social events was established. At this time many of the smaller homes of an earlier era were being enlarged, and in some cases transformed, by the addition of new wings, towers and second storeys.⁴⁷ Many more houses could now boast proper rooms for balls and billiards. From 1865 gentlemen in Society had an imposing city headquarters in the Adelaide Club, which was for many years the tallest building on North Terrace.⁴⁸ Then, within a few years, a number of sporting clubs were founded or re-established on a permanent basis - hunting in 1869,⁴⁹ yachting in 1870,⁵⁰ horse racing in 1873,⁵¹ archery in 1875,⁵² and polo in 1876.⁵³ All these were sponsored and supported by leading men in Society. Elder provided the land for the new race course at Morphettville and donated the trophy for the Adelaide Cup which was first run there in 1876. His cutter the Edith was one of the mainstays of the South Australian Yacht Club. The Governor, Elder, Barr Smith and Newland were among the early presidents and patrons of the Hunt Club. Edward, a son of George Hawker, helped to re-form the Archery Club. Lancelot Stirling, son of one of

Elder's early partners, introduced the game of polo and W. A. Horn, an Adelaide squatter, was founder of the Polo Club. These, then, were the centres of Society's life - ballrooms in private houses, the Adelaide Club on North Terrace, and the meetings of the sporting bodies.

Because the majority of the South Australian wealthy lived in Adelaide there was no great influx of people from the country for the Season. The movement was in the opposite direction. Adelaide Society left the city for two months or so at the height of summer⁵⁴ and sought refuge in the hills or at the beaches along the Gulf and at Victor Harbour and Pt. Elliot, the two resorts on Encounter Bay.⁵⁵ When they returned home the sports of spring and autumn were resumed. In the seventies and eighties polo was played chiefly at the old racecourses in the east parklands. Initially there was only the one club so various combinations of members played each other. Residents north of the Torrens played those from the south, married played single men, and Law pitted itself against World. The game was fast and exciting and crowds of up to 5,000 turned out to watch the Adelaide aristocrats at play.⁵⁶ Archery was conducted far more privately in the grounds of St. Peter's College and Government House or near George Hawker's home at Medindie.⁵⁷

In May the pace of social life quickened and the Season began. Its opening event was the running of the Adelaide Cup. The regular entertainment consisted of the ritual of calling in the afternoon and

leaving cards⁵⁸ and a hectic round of balls interspersed with musical and choral evenings and the dramatic presentations at Torrens Park. These lasted until October.⁵⁹ On Saturday afternoons during the Season the Hunt Club held its meets. Adelaide gentlemen did not suffer the misfortune of the English squires who fondly thought of their hounds when they tired of London balls. The Adelaide Season could satisfy dancers and hunters at the same time.

Almost to the end of the century meetings of the Hunt Club could be held in each direction around the city, and at no point more than two miles from its centre.⁶⁰ Indeed several times a year the hunt would pass within half a mile of the G.P.O. The hounds would be thrown off near the site of the present railway goods yards and would then follow the kerosene rag trail through the south and east parklands, skirting the city, to the Britannia Hotel where the "kill" took place. The chief attraction of this line was the series of post and rail fences bordering the roadways which crossed the parklands. Elsewhere the majority of fences were wire and had to be capped before they were safe for jumping. In the seventies and eighties there were still farms abutting the east parklands and here by courtesy of the farmers, "one of the prettiest lines of country" was available to the Club within sound of the Town Hall bells, yet without the interference of main roads.⁶¹ On other runs, main roads, tramways, and railway lines had to be negotiated as well as the fences between the fields.

At the opening and close of the Season, and on many occasions

in between, the Club met at one of the great houses. Members were invited to luncheon at 1:30, and the more lavish hosts would also ask large numbers of their friends so that as many as 150 would sit down to eat. After a hasty meal toasts were drunk in champagne to the Governor, who was invariably present, the Host and the Master.⁶² One rider left to drag the scent and the onlookers took up their chosen vantage points. Usually a group of ladies climbed the stairs to the second storey windows or the top of the tower where they could hope to see a good portion of the run. Others walked through the garden to watch the first jump on the home property at close quarters. The hounds were thrown off the leash; as they picked up the scent the master sounded his horn, the ladies cheered from above, the horses galloped off to the first fences and away into the adjoining estate.

Where horses jumped twice to cross a road, and at any vantage point along the run, crowds of people gathered to watch the sport of Adelaide's Society. The notice in the papers informing members of the meeting also served to direct the general populace; whilst small boys shouted "Where do the 'unt start" to men in scarlet making their way to the meet.⁶³ At Woodville onlookers sat on the rooftops to see the horses go by; at North Adelaide they watched from the top of tram-cars; when the meet was at Findon people took the train from the city and lined the top of the sandhills.⁶⁴ Others followed the horses from the roads and this could be almost as exciting as the hunt itself: with drivers intent on carrying their customers quickly from one

vantage point to the next traps and carts sometimes collided, or became entangled with tramlines, and even got in the way of the horses.⁶⁵ Meetings in the parklands attracted the biggest crowds. In 1894 the City Council informed the Hunt Club that unless it lodged a deposit to cover the costs of repairing damaged fences permission to hold meets in the parklands would be refused. The Club thought the sum asked was too high, so no meets were held there during that season. As the Register's correspondent pointed out, this unreasonableness of the Corporation denied hundreds of city dwellers the pleasure of seeing horse and hounds. The following year the Corporation relented and the huntsmen returned.⁶⁶ One of the reasons why men followed the hunt so keenly was their interest in the form of the horses, which at the end of the season ran in the Huntclub Steeplechase at Morphettsville. This race was open only to owners and riders who were members of the Club and to horses which had hunted at least six times during the season. The Hunt Club races drew large crowds, and in the main event those who had watched men and horses taking the fences around Adelaide could now back their favourites, with their distinguished gentlemen riders, for the four mile steeplechase course.⁶⁷

When meets were held at the great houses the trail was laid to bring the horsemen back for the "kill" to the point where they had begun. During the afternoon the host usually welcomed more guests whom he could not accommodate at his luncheon table. At one Torrens Park

meet the Barr Smiths served afternoon tea in the conservatory and the theatre to between 300 and 400 guests.⁶⁸ When the hunting horn was heard again the onlookers resumed their vantage points to see the horses come over the last few jumps. On occasions they did not welcome back as many as had set out for, as proof of the sport's excitement, riders were often thrown and sometimes injured. Once at Linden a polo match was held when the hunters returned, and on another occasion, at Torrens Park, a play was presented, but usually the meet ended after refreshments were served to the hunters and the local gentlemen and farmers thanked for the use of their land. As they watched the huntsmen ride away, the men who had decided to make their homes in large estates along the hills and the coast must have felt well satisfied with their efforts. With huntsmen in red coats seated at their table and baying of hounds and the sound of the horn upon their estate, they came closest to the realization of their yearning to live the life of the English country gentlemen. The green fields, the scattered cottages of the villages, the lanes and hedges, a country house and the sound of the hunting horn always cheered the heart of the Register's correspondent; "It was", he wrote, "just like an English scene".⁶⁹

Historians of New South Wales and Victoria in the second half of the nineteenth century have noted a tendency of the old wealthy families to retreat from public and parliamentary life: they were

rebuffed, or at least felt themselves rebuffed by the new democracy.⁷⁰ In South Australia, by contrast, the wealthy families, both old and new, continued to be active in public affairs throughout the century. A number of reasons may be suggested to explain this difference. In the first place the social composition of South Australia was different from that of the eastern colonies. There were no convicts and fewer Irish to harbour resentment against the well-to-do; and there were no gold rushes and no diggers. South Australia benefited economically from the gold discoveries in the east, but its prosperity was associated with the expansion of agriculture and an increase in the number of yeomen farmers. Unlike the old Victorian families, who could well feel that their world had been disrupted and destroyed, the South Australian gentry looked out on a social order which had been confirmed in its previous pattern.⁷¹ Secondly, during the critical decade of the fifties, the wealthy in South Australia were less defensive in their politics.⁷² This was partly a result of the liberal inheritance bestowed by the founding fathers, but it was also a consequence of the wealthy having no privileged position to lose in regard to the land⁷³ and because the more settled South Australian community inspired them with fewer fears of social disorder. The South Australian constitution of 1856 was the most liberal in Australia, so much so that it remained unchallenged for many years. By contrast, the constitutions of New South Wales and Victoria were met with concerted opposition as soon as they came into

operation.⁷⁴ Thirdly, because the Crown never yielded its right to resume the squatter's lease at any time, there was no impediment to agricultural expansion, at least until the late sixties.⁷⁵ Nothing in a new society was more obvious than great inequality in the ownership of land; nothing was more likely to convince the populace that all was well than the resumption notices served on the squatters and the steady advance of the farmer's frontier. There was no parallel in South Australia to the popular land reform movements which emerged in New South Wales and Victoria in the late fifties and early sixties. In short, the issues on which the wealthy were assailed elsewhere - the constitution and the land laws - were not issues at all in South Australia. Finally, the concentration of the wealthy into Adelaide at the centre of economic and political affairs reduced the possibility that they would isolate themselves from the community and increased their opportunities for active participation in public life.

Men in Society were members of the governing bodies or subscribers to the University, the Public Library, the Botanic Gardens, and the Geographical and Zoological Societies; they were patrons of a variety of sporting clubs; and supported a wide range of charitable organisations.⁷⁶ Several families were very generous with their wealth. The Waite Agricultural Institute received its land, an endowment and its name from Peter Waite.⁷⁷ In 1910 the pastoralist T. R. Bowman gave £26,400 in bonds to twenty-two Adelaide charities.⁷⁸

The Trades Hall and St. Peter's College were helped out of debt by Barr Smith who also gave freely to the Anglican cathedral building fund and the University, where the library bears his name.⁷⁹ Elder gave £20,000 to found the University, endowed several chairs and the conservatorium, provided the Band Rotunda for Elder Park on the banks of the Torrens, and on his death left £25,000 for the construction of cottages to be let at reasonable rates to workingmen.⁸⁰

This gives some idea of the extent of Society's interest in the city's life, but the quality of the relationship between the rich and the general community can best be seen in a particular instance, the history of the Bushmen's Club, which opened in Adelaide in 1870.⁸¹ The establishment of a club was first suggested by a bush missionary, who was known simply as William. His aim was to moderate the bushman's spree and to keep him from being fleeced by publicans, prostitutes and anyone else anxious for part of his cheque when he came to town. William readily persuaded J. H. Angas, who supported his missionary journeys, of the value of his proposal, and Angas provided him with letters of introduction to present in Adelaide. In December 1868 Elder presided over a meeting of interested gentlemen who decided to support the project.⁸² Committees, boards of management and trustees were soon appointed, public meetings were held, and William departed into the bush to collect membership subscriptions, with the result that the Governor opened the Club in rented premises

at Whitmore Square in May 1870.⁸³ Those who had been forward in this movement were Adelaide squatters, Angas, who came down to Adelaide for meetings, a number of clergymen, and the proprietors of the two leading newspapers. Capital costs were covered by the squatters and a grant from Parliament. The promoters of the club experienced spirited opposition. Letters appeared in the press from bushmen who did not want to be helped, and who suggested the squatters promoted the club to provide themselves with a pool of labour. The editors replied by printing letters from bushmen in favour of the club and supported them with editorials explaining away the charges of the detractors and justifying the proposal by referring to the pitiable sights of bushmen brought before the magistrate at the end of a spree, "fleeced, fooled, penniless, and friendless".⁸⁴ These disputes were soon irrelevant. During 1872 1,200 men stayed at the club; at one time there were fifty-two in residence.⁸⁵ The premises which had been rented were bought, extensions made, and in 1878 a new building to accommodate a further thirty-six men was completed.⁸⁶ At annual meetings of members, bushmen moved and seconded votes of thanks to boards of management and trustees, largely composed of squatters, and proposed the names for the following year. The success of the Bushmen's Club owed much to the widespread feeling, fostered by the press, that a bushmen who knocked down his cheque was in need of help, but more to the efforts of some of Adelaide's gentry. It was a clear expression of their sense of

responsibility and their willingness to lead.

The clearest path to public service lay in election to the Legislative Council or the House of Assembly: it was in this way that Adelaide's gentry could best serve the whole colony. Members of Adelaide's Society were very prominent in the Legislative Council in the seventies and eighties.⁸⁷ The Council was elected on a £25 rental franchise, and though it was usually more conservative than the Assembly, there were no important disagreements between the Houses in these years. It was not until the late nineties that the Legislative Councillors and their House became subject to constant attack. In the seventies a position in the Council could be had with a minimum of effort. Since the whole colony voted as one electorate no personal canvassing was required of a candidate and a member was not troubled by any constituency work. Once elected a member sat for twelve years.⁸⁸ Though most Councillors had an easy political life, the few who served as ministers had a more exacting task. The position of Chief Secretary, one of the most important cabinet posts, was usually held by a member of the Council. Ayers and Morgan, both members of Adelaide Society, were Chief Secretaries for long periods and both led ministries from the Council. Men from Society were not quite as prominent in the Assembly, but their presence in the popular House indicates their eagerness for public life and their desire to be leaders, not merely defenders.⁸⁹ Several served with distinction in the seventies and eighties. John Hart, Arthur Blyth and John Downer were premiers.

Alexander Hay of Linden was remembered for his advocacy of land and education reform. Dr. Stirling was the first to speak in favour of female suffrage. George Hawker held the Public Works portfolio between 1878 and 1881, a vital stage in railway development. He declined to draw his ministerial salary.⁹⁰

The Hawker family has a particularly notable parliamentary record. George Hawker first entered the House in 1858, and he was a member when he died in 1895. He served for a total of twenty-six years. In 1884 his son Edward joined him in the House as Member for Stanley, the electorate which included the family sheep station. He resigned in 1889 when he left for a trip overseas to study mining and metallurgy. A series of letters from his father kept him well informed on political matters while he was away.⁹¹ These letters do not betray the age of the man who had left the tiny settlement of Adelaide in 1840 to establish his station in the north. He is completely immersed in the politics of the day; he describes the moves to form and destroy governments, the changing fortunes of the various policies, and his successful campaign for the North Adelaide seat in 1890. This was not an easy seat for him to hold. The old squatter had to court the favour of many workingmen in the electorate and his campaign cost over £1,200.⁹² For the 1893 election the recently formed Labour Party was running its own candidate for this two-member constituency - "a fine looking man just like a life guardsman", Hawker described him.⁹³ Hawker was still fairly confident of his own

return for one of the vacancies, but he was worried about his son's political future. He was determined to see that he re-entered the House at the 1893 election. Late in the 1892 session, with his son still away, he gave his vote to the Opposition on a no confidence motion only when he had been assured that the Government would have no chance of securing a dissolution and an early election.⁹⁴ Then Edward suggested that he might stay away a little longer. His father thundered in reply, "I hope you will not think for a moment of stopping another year away unless you mean to give up political life altogether and remain for the future a nonentity in the Colony ..."⁹⁵ Edward returned in ample time to conduct a vigorous campaign, which he prefaced with a tour around the district showing magic lantern pictures of his travels. Throughout the campaign an anxious father in Adelaide kept up a steady and sometimes confusing stream of advice. On election day the father was returned comfortably as the second member for North Adelaide, the junior to Wood the Labour man, and the son scraped home by fourteen votes. His father was jubilant over this "tremendous triumph". He sent £200 towards Edward's election expenses. "Times are so bad", he added in explanation, "or I would have paid them all".⁹⁶ This series of letters shows how closely the old man linked the fortunes of his family with success in public life. He was determined that the Hawkers should not become men of yesterday.

During the late eighties and in the nineties the nature of

politics changed radically. The second Government of Sir John Downer which held office from October 1892 to June 1893 was the last to be formed by a member of the Adelaide Club.⁹⁷ The new Premier was Charles Kingston who led his radical administration for a record period of six years. To gentlemen accustomed to short lived governments of other gentlemen, Kingston seemed to be a crude demagogue and the degree of personal control which he exercised over cabinet, parliament, and the country was almost as alarming as his policies. Kingston insisted that the wealthy pay more tax, he attacked their professions of medicine and law,⁹⁸ and he launched the first spirited campaign against the privileges of the Legislative Council, on which they increasingly had to rely to protect their interests. During these years it became much more difficult for a wealthy Adelaide man to gain a seat in the Assembly. The country electorates came to prefer local representatives and after the introduction of payment of members in 1887 they were better able to secure them.⁹⁹ Edward Hawker, member for the country electorate of Stanley, lost his father in 1895 and his parliamentary seat in 1896. In the nineties most Adelaide electorates were reluctant to return anyone who was not a member of the Labour Party or one of its radical liberal allies. Guest lists at Hunt Club luncheons might still include a few members of the Legislative Council, but premiers, cabinet ministers, and members of the Assembly appeared no more.

The withdrawal from public life was accompanied by a retreat

from the public eye. As the suburbs grew the Hunt Club could no longer meet in and around the parklands or on the slopes to the south and east of the city. In 1902 the Polo Club moved to its own property at Plympton and games on the parklands ceased.¹⁰⁰ With the retreat of the rich sportsmen the public was left to devote itself wholly to the less exclusive sports of racing, cycling, cricket and football. More significant, as an indication of the changing order, was the decision of many of the sons and daughters of the rich not to live in the houses of their fathers. Even if they had wished to they would have found it very hard to maintain the style of the seventies and eighties for the servant problem became even more acute, as some of the older generation found. Way frequently considered moving into a hotel to escape "domestic tyranny"¹⁰¹ and after their children were married, Barr Smith and Newland deserted their homes at the foot of the hills in favour of smaller houses in the city itself.¹⁰² The men who bought Montefiore and Sunnyside after the deaths of Way and Milne reversed the process of the sixties and seventies and undertook alterations to make their homes smaller and more manageable.¹⁰³ In the twentieth century the smaller houses remained as private residences, though usually some of the estate was subdivided and sold. Most of the great houses, however, were sold to School Councils, Hospital Boards, and the institutions of the churches.¹⁰⁴ The new generation lived far less conspicuously in the good streets of North Adelaide, or in the new and fashionable suburbs of Medindie, Walkerville, and Unley Park.

In these changing circumstances some members of the wealthy families attempted to maintain their political influence by adopting new methods. Richard Baker, lawyer son of squatter father, founded the National Defence League in 1891 in an effort to counter the threat of the Labour Party and the radicals. The history of this organisation will be traced in Part II. Upon its fortunes would depend whether the gentry could avoid that terrible fate of becoming a "nonentity in the Colony".

The life of Adelaide Society in the last decades of the nineteenth century confounds the distinction between town and country. The members of this Society represented both urban and rural wealth. They were citizens of a large town, but they could also be country gentlemen. The rural pleasures, for which the rich seemed to have such a strong yearning, were pursued most assiduously, not in the countryside, but within sight of the Town Hall tower. In Adelaide and its villages the wealthy could also serve the public in the tradition of the English squire. In fact, the concentration of the wealthy in Adelaide is one factor which explains why they remained prominent in public life. Yet their services were not merely limited to the city population. Because they were in Adelaide, they could become a gentry for the whole colony.

SECTION 6ATTITUDES TO THE COUNTRY AND TO ADELAIDE

The people of Adelaide, as befitted the inhabitants of a metropolis, gave some thought to social and economic conditions in the country. In the seventies and eighties the standard of farming, the type of crops, the quality of farm life and even the landscape itself were matters of concern to a variety of groups and individuals in Adelaide. They were all dissatisfied with what they saw, and they worked to make improvements and changes. By the turn of the century these separate concerns had become subsidiary to one single consideration: the need to encourage more settlement in the country and hence reduce the high proportion of the population living in Adelaide. From the 1890s all these matters were also being discussed with equal interest, though with less publicity, in the country. This section will examine these movements and discussions and the various attitudes which they reveal; those of Adelaide people to the country, of country people to Adelaide, and of each to their own environment.

The most common criticism of the farmer in the seventies and eighties was that he grew wheat year in and year out until the soil was exhausted and yields declined. The land was seldom rested and no alternative crops were planted. Even as a grower of wheat, the farmer was alleged to be lazy and careless. He did not plough deeply, he harvested only the heads and burnt the straw, and he left his implements

out in the weather. Such charges were frequently made in the metropolitan press, and particularly in those papers designed specifically for the farmer. The Farmers Messenger was one of these. It was published in Adelaide during the seventies by the politician Ebenezer Ward who was anxious to court the rural vote. That desire, however, did not deter him from regularly berating the farmers and lecturing them on ways to improve their husbandry.¹ The monthly magazine the Garden and Field also treated the farmers contemptuously. It began publication in Adelaide in 1875 with the pronouncement that it would advocate the adoption of scientific agriculture until the farmers saw the error of their ways.² Its pages were filled with articles such as "The Cottager's Pig", "Raisin Curing in Spain" and "On the Cultivation of the Orange" in an effort to woo the farmer from wheat.

Criticism of the farmer and concern for his reformation were also common coin among Adelaide's landowners, businessmen and professional people. Gilbert Parker, who visited the colony in 1888 and published his impressions of Australia a few years later, formed all his opinions of South Australian agriculture while mixing in Adelaide's polite Society. His book records the hostility which Society felt towards the dull-witted farmer who refused to listen to the advice of those who knew better.³ Among the Adelaide gentry the most determined agricultural reformer and critic was Samuel Davenport, the squire of Beaumont. When Parker talked to him in 1888 he was particularly despondent about the chances of farmers taking up new crops. Certainly Davenport

had worked hard to persuade them. On his own land on the slopes of the hills he had shown that vines and olives could be grown successfully. He was a foundation member and first president of the Chamber of Manufactures, which, despite its title, was chiefly interested in developing new crops to replace and supplement wheat. The Chamber gave its support to the Garden and Field and at its regular meetings members listened to papers on the benefit and practicability of growing olives, vines, mustard, chicory, tobacco, flax, figs, sugar beet, and mulberry trees.⁴ Davenport took a particular interest in encouraging silk production. In 1871 he founded the Adelaide Silk Industrial Association Ltd. which leased some land on the banks of the Torrens and planted ten acres with mulberries. Leading merchants and squatters were among the subscribers to the Association, but insufficient funds were raised to allow the project to be continued. In appealing for funds the secretary of the Association pointed out that "all men of property" should be interested in finding acceptable alternatives to wheat because new crops would increase the value of property and reduce the instability of an economy heavily dependent on a single product.⁵ Such, no doubt, were the motives which kept men of property interested in agricultural reform, even if they were not willing to risk too much on experiments with new crops.

However, it is plain from their propaganda that the critics were not merely concerned for the colony's economic well-being; they were also emotionally unable to accept the way in which the country

was developing. Their ideal was the closely worked fields of England and Europe. The South Australian country did not look like real country. Ward of the Farmers Messenger longed for the day when the ugly post and rail fences would be replaced by hedges.⁶ To speed that day the Garden and Field told the farmers the most appropriate strains to plant.⁷ Because of this emotional attachment to another landscape, the critics usually overlooked the fact that the South Australian farmer worked in a different economic environment from that of England: there land was dear and labour, cheap, whilst in South Australia the reverse was true. The result was that intensive cultivation was at a discount and the farmer aimed to acquire as much land and employ as little labour as possible.⁸ When they did recognise these economic forces, the critics' response to them was very lame. They either denounced the wickedness of the labourer for demanding so much⁹ or told the farmer he could avoid paying the high rates exacted by the casual labourer if he built cottages, employed married men, and kept them busy all year round on a variety of crops and farm improvements.¹⁰ Which was to say that if the local farmer could only adopt the ways of the English farmer, all would be well.

Though much of the advice offered to the farmers was impracticable, the suggestion that they grow fruit and vegetables for their own consumption was more sensible. This was a constant theme with the Garden and Field.¹¹ Very few farmers had orchards or kitchen gardens. The first horticultural adviser appointed by the government noted that



the first generation of farmers did seem to have planted trees and gardens: it was the second generation, that greedy tribe which swarmed northwards with the aim of making money quickly, who treated their homesteads as nothing more than a temporary shelter.¹² Any fruit and vegetables they had were bought from a hawker's cart: quite frequently they went without. A standard farm diet was mutton, bread and tea.¹³ Most of the colony's orchards and market gardens were situated in Adelaide and its vicinity. From here fruit and vegetables were sent into the country by train, coastal steamer, and hawker's cart.¹⁴ In the South Australian countryside the greatest compliment you could pay to the fruit and vegetables grown locally was to declare they were as good as those obtained from Adelaide.¹⁵

The whole range of the critics' concern - for the economic well being of the colony, the appearance of the landscape, and the quality of the farmer's life - was evidenced in their campaign to make country people plant trees. Since South Australia had few natural forests and no coal deposits, new forests would be particularly valuable economically. Trees would relieve the depressing monotony of the countryside which, after being poorly endowed by Nature, had suffered at the hands of the woodcutter and the "savages", which was the name given by the Garden and Field to farmers with a propensity for ring barking.¹⁶ Finally, trees would improve country life by providing man and his homestead with shelter and shade. The chief campaigner for trees was F.E.H.W. Krichauff, an Adelaide land agent and a member of

the House of Assembly who had arrived in South Australia from Germany in 1849.¹⁷ After eighteen days as Commissioner of Public Works at the beginning of his parliamentary career in 1870, Krichauff was a permanent backbencher, dogged, humourless, and highly successful. His first success was to persuade the parliament to vote a small sum for the planting of trees on government reserves and to offer private landholders a land-order worth £2 for each acre they planted with trees.¹⁸ In 1875, with the assistance of the Surveyor General outside the House and the Government within, he passed a Bill which established a Forest Board and set aside large areas of the colony as forest reserves.¹⁹ The Forest Board, with Goyder, the Surveyor General, as chairman, began to plant the forest reserves and each year it gave thousands of seedlings from its own nurseries to farmers and others free of charge.²⁰ As Conservator of Forests the Board appointed an Englishman, J. E. Brown, who had even more faith in the value of trees than his employers. He led the school which believed that trees increased rainfall.²¹

Krichauff's other major contribution to tree culture was the establishment of Arbor Day. One morning in June 1889 some thousands of school children from city and suburban schools assembled in Victoria Square to begin the first observance of this day. At 9:30 they set off in procession for the north eastern parklands. The police troopers led the way, followed by the police band, the fife and drums band of each school, then the planting squads "decorated with various coloured

rosettes", and finally, all the rest of the children. This impressive assembly had been brought together by the Arbor Day Committee, of which Krichauff was the chairman and Albert Molineaux, editor of the Garden and Field, secretary. They had enlisted the support of the School Boards of Advice, the Inspector-General of schools, and the Minister of Education. When the procession reached the parklands Krichauff addressed the children. He told them that "trees improve a landscape, shelter animals and the homestead, and embellish and beautify what would otherwise be monotonous plains". "I hope before long", he said in conclusion, "to see the whole aspect of South Australia changed". When the Governor and his family had planted the first trees, "Mr Secretary Molineaux ... fired a gun, the signal for the general planting".²² Of course it was not South Australia that the children were transforming as they shovelled earth at the sound of Mr. Molineaux's gun; it was Adelaide. This planting was merely an addition to those being carried out by the City Council and the Botanic Gardens Board which worked vigorously in the seventies and eighties at improving the city squares, the parklands, and the River Torrens.²³ At this first ArborDay the Mayor could already speak proudly of what had been achieved. In the city Krichauff was preaching to the converted, but his labours were rewarded as in subsequent years a growing number of country schools followed Adelaide's example.²⁴ Children gathered in the wide streets and barren reserves of country towns to plant trees and listen to speeches from mayors and parliamentarians.²⁵ So Adelaide's recipe for beauty was gradually adopted in the country.

Since the farmers ignored so much of their advice, the reformers were naturally firm advocates of a programme of agricultural education. They also wanted the government to employ properly qualified people to assist in the work of assessing which crops and methods were most suitable for South Australian conditions. The reformers were given a good opportunity to state their case in 1875 when Ward, of the Farmers Messenger, Schomburgk, Director of the Botanic Gardens,²⁶ and Davenport were appointed with two others as a Royal Commission on Agricultural and Technical Education. The Commission recommended the creation of a Chair of Agriculture at the University, the establishment of model and experimental farms and the convening of an annual conference of farmers.²⁷ The government agreed to set up a few experimental farms²⁸ and ignored the rest of the recommendations. Davenport, however, was not prepared to see the matter dismissed in this way. He continued to bring pressure to bear on the government through the executive of the Royal Agricultural and Horticultural Society, a body composed of members of the Adelaide gentry and a few substantial farmers in nearby areas. Its chief function was the organisation of the Adelaide Shows, but, with encouragement from Davenport, it also supported the movement for agricultural reform. From 1872 it had been urging the government to appoint an analytical chemist. In 1879 Davenport led a deputation to the Commissioner of Crown Lands which reiterated this request and asked in addition for the appointment of three travelling lecturers to instruct the farmers.

Playford, the Commissioner, was generally sympathetic, but he thought travelling lecturers would be of little use since it would take them three or four years to become acquainted with local conditions. He said he was inclined to favour the establishment of an agricultural college with a farm attached where a professional staff could conduct experiments and instruct students. The deputation departed with a promise that the whole matter would be placed before the cabinet.²⁹

Within a few weeks Playford was presented with another proposal. Basedow, a backbencher in the Assembly and a fellow countryman of Krichauff's, introduced a motion for the establishment of a College of Agriculture in association with the University. The proposal did not arouse much interest in the Assembly and Playford said he could not approve of a college linked with the University. He argued that unless students were kept constantly at practical farm work, they would never return to the land. Later in the debate the Government announced that it had adopted Playford's scheme for a separate Agricultural College and that Basedow had agreed to amend his motion accordingly. The motion was then agreed to.³⁰ The first Professor of Agriculture was appointed in 1881, and in 1882 land was acquired for the college and farm at Roseworthy, thirty miles north of the city.³¹

The second major advance in agricultural education came with the establishment of the Bureau of Agriculture in 1888. The creation

of such an institution had been advocated by Albert Molineaux, editor of the Garden and Field and latterly agricultural editor of the Observer - the Register's weekly - as well. In 1887 he was called as a witness before a parliamentary select committee on new crops and products. While giving evidence on these matters he referred to the agricultural extension work of the federal government in the United States and suggested that a somewhat similar scheme could be adopted in South Australia. He envisaged a number of men with some knowledge and experience of agriculture serving as honorary members of a Central Bureau of Agriculture which would collect and distribute information among farmers. The driving force of the Board would be its secretary, "a zealous officer" who would receive a salary. The select committee was impressed with this scheme and recommended its adoption.³² In the following year the Government gave its approval and the first Central Bureau was constituted. Among its members were Brown, Conservator of Forests, Lowrie, Professor of Agriculture, Davenport, Schomburgk and Krichauff, who became its chairman. Albert Molineaux was appointed secretary. The Board quickly made contact with the farmers and organised them into local branches of the Bureau.³³ At Show time the members of the various branches met with the Central Bureau in an annual congress.³⁴ With the establishment of the Bureau the amateur reformers and critics in Adelaide acquired a new semi-professional status, and in exchange they had to forego their practice of lecturing to the farmers in a rather high-handed way. More importantly, the Professor of Agriculture

and his staff at Roseworthy had acquired a new means of broadcasting their findings and recommendations to the farmer. The demands of the agricultural reformers for institutions to promote research and education had now been met.

With the onset of economic depression in the mid eighties, interest in agricultural reform quickened. Poor seasons, declining yields and low grain prices were more successful than the agricultural critics had been in making farmers interested in alternatives to wheat.³⁵ By the early twentieth century agricultural practice had changed markedly from that of the seventies and eighties. Wheat was still the predominant crop, but it was increasingly combined with the grazing of sheep. Dairying, horticulture and viticulture were well established minor industries.³⁶ But in one sense the agricultural reformers were cheated. They had associated the establishment of a scientific, as opposed to an exploitative, agriculture, with new crops and closely worked fields. In fact, the first notable achievement of the Professors of Agriculture was to show the farmers that they could grow wheat successfully on exhausted and inferior soil if they used superphosphate and allowed their land to lie fallow periodically. These practices, which became widespread early in the new century, established wheat growing on a new and more permanent basis;³⁷ and wheat meant big paddocks, large holdings and an unchanged landscape.

In Adelaide in the seventies and eighties, a more scientific agriculture was regarded as the country's greatest need. From the 1890s people in Adelaide were also concerned at the high degree of metropolitan concentration in the colony's population. By the early twentieth century it was plain that agriculture, with the help of the scientists, would be able to look after itself. However, although prosperity had returned to the countryside, population was still leaving it. Adelaide continued to grow more rapidly than the country. This then became the major preoccupation in Adelaide's thinking about the country.

The city had been growing more rapidly than the country in the seventies, but few people, if any, had then been aware of this. The Statistician did not publish any figures on the population of a metropolitan area, and if Adelaide loomed large in the colony's affairs, it did not seem destined to keep its preeminence. The country awaiting development and settlement spread from the Southern Ocean to the Timor Sea. In the seventies high hopes were still held of the capabilities of the Northern Territory as a producer of all kinds of wealth. Within South Australia proper the farmers were expanding rapidly northward and eastward and seemed set to claim the greater portion of the colony for themselves. In the eighties the colonists faced an entirely different prospect. After the failure of many enterprises, the Northern Territory entered a long period of stagnation.³⁸ The wheat farmers halted, and then retreated. Instead

of population spreading from sea to sea, there seemed no future for any settlement except on the southern coastal fringe within Goyder's Line. It was in these circumstances, in 1891, that the Statistician first published a figure for the size of metropolitan Adelaide. At that date it held 42% of the colony's population. By 1901 the proportion had risen to 45%, and by the end of the period to 50%. This was regarded as a most undesirable concentration of population. It was regretted in parliament, at speech days, at banquets and official functions, in the editorial columns of the Press, in all places, in short, where men had to say something about the state of the province and the problems it faced.³⁹

It is difficult to discover why this concentration of population was considered so undesirable. The worriers did not offer very clear reasons for their fears: they usually limited themselves to pointing to the anomaly of so many people living in the capital of what was and would remain a "producing" colony. The impression created was that the people crowding into Adelaide were leaving great natural resources in the country untapped. So the Chairman of the Agricultural Bureau asserted at the annual Farmers Banquet in 1913: "It was not by living in congested cities that progress was helped, but by going out upon the land and developing its resources in agriculture, horticulture and viticulture".⁴⁰

There was no real evidence that the concentration of population in Adelaide limited the advance of the primary industries. In

the early twentieth century new wheatlands were being developed in the Murray Mallee and on Eyre Peninsula. There was certainly no shortage of men wanting to be farmers. The shortage was in the amount of land available. From the mid-eighties there was a steady exodus of farmers and their sons to the other colonies because they could not acquire sufficient land in South Australia. Yet the worriers wanted more people, and particularly young people, to acquire a love of rural pursuits and to make life on the land their aim. In March 1909 an article entitled "Farming in South Australia" appeared in the Children's Hour, a monthly magazine produced by the Education Department for distribution to school children. The article asserted that in no place was it so easy to become a farmer as in South Australia, and it encouraged all boys to consider farming as a career.⁴¹ No information was ever provided on other careers and the article made no mention of the fact that the Land Board was already embarrassed by the number of applicants for new land. In the early twentieth century the Education Department encouraged the cultivation of gardens at all its schools. In reporting on the gardens in 1911, the Director of Education stressed the importance of fostering a love for rural pursuits and developing agricultural skills in a state which relied on the soil for most of its wealth.⁴² So at a time when only one quarter of the workforce was engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, all the state's children were to be prepared for life on the land.

The metropolitan newspapers were the chief promoters of the notion that too few people lived in the country and too many in Adelaide. In their editorial columns the need to make more people farmers was constantly being urged. However, in other columns the farmer himself was treated with scant respect. Admittedly he was no longer dismissed as a half-wit - as the agricultural reformers had treated him - but he could still be an object for humour or condescension. The occasional essays which the papers ran during Show week drew attention to such matters as the farmer's slow and hesitating gait, his wife's gaudy hats, and the deportment of his daughters who betrayed "with every lurch" the fact that they were accustomed to carrying milk buckets.⁴³ The Observer's account of the farmers' annual visit to Roseworthy College in 1905 is also revealing. After the farmers had signed the visitors' book, the reporter noted that the pages were splashed with ink and that the Principle had collected some "entertaining specimens of rural penmanship".⁴⁴

The fears about Adelaide's size were not associated with a belief that life in Adelaide was in some way inferior to life in the country. If the worriers were asked to describe Adelaide, apart from any consideration of its relative size, they could not be too lavish in their praise. Adelaide was the Queen City of the South. Its climate was ideal, its streets wide and clean, its parks more than ample, its death rate the lowest of the Australian capitals.⁴⁵ The city's deep

drainage system, which could be operated so easily on the gentle slope of the Adelaide plain, was a matter for constant interest and congratulation. "Adelaide can fairly claim", said one writer, to be "the best drained city in the southern hemisphere".⁴⁶ Far from criticising life in Adelaide, the worriers were accustomed to praise it, albeit in an indirect way, in the same breath as they were decrying the number of its citizens. In considering the causes of the movement of people out of the country, they usually emphasised the social advantages of living in the city.⁴⁷ The comforts of Adelaide were certainly a very strong attraction: they brought, as we have seen, a large group of retired farmers to the city. However, contemporaries took almost no account of other factors which in the long term were reducing the ability of the rural industries to support a large population: the increase in farm size, the improvements in agricultural machinery, and the shortage of good land. In their eyes, the problem of metropolitan concentration would be solved if only country life could be made as interesting and comfortable as life in the city. The concentration in Adelaide was bad, said the worriers, but life in Adelaide was good.

This double-faced attitude can be nicely illustrated from the pages of the Children's Hour. In March 1909 it carried the article "Farming in South Australia", in which boys were urged to make farming their career. A few months later a short story re-iterated the same message. A young orphan boy is sent from Adelaide to work on a farm.

He misbehaves and the farmer's wife wants to send him back, but Mr. Oak is prepared to bear with him: "Life on the farm is better for the boy than living in Adelaide". Subsequently the lad saves a haystack from burning, he turns into a "steady, careful boy", and eventually takes up a farm of his own in the Pinnaroo district.⁴⁸ The moral of this tale is clear enough, but another story encourages an entirely different attitude to the country. This story is about children living on a sheep station 500 miles from Adelaide who had only been able to visit the city "two or three times". Their plight is described in this way:

they had not the numerous pleasures and advantages which town children enjoy ... they had no Zoo, in which to spend a pleasant day amongst the animals, and no Botanic Gardens to run about in.⁴⁹

Plainly they were to be pitied.

The worriers were proud of their city, but their philosophy meant that they had to favour country life. How could this dilemma be resolved? One escape which was constantly being used was to emphasise the openness and ruralness of Adelaide. For this there was certainly ample justification. Around and between the suburbs were wheat farms, orchards, market gardens and the gentry's estates with their vineyards, olive groves, and avenues of trees. The city proper was encircled with its famous belt of parklands and within its borders were many parks and open places. For most of the nineteenth century, however, these had done little to enhance the city's beauty.⁵⁰ The River Torrens,

which runs through the park separating South and North Adelaide, shrank into a series of ugly waterholes every summer until the river was dammed in 1881. Large scale plantings of the squares and parklands, which had been left as barren wastes, only began in the seventies.⁵¹ It was not until the early twentieth century, when all the trees had grown, that Adelaide reaped the benefit of Light's plan.⁵² The City Council could then proceed to more delicate effects. It thinned out some of the trees between Adelaide and North Adelaide and planted flower beds. Chief Justice Way, who was anxious to see more people settled in the country, was nevertheless delighted to be a citizen of such a pleasant city. He declared he had not seen a more brilliant show of flowers anywhere.⁵³ Overseas visitors commented on the city's pleasant open and rural air and their remarks were carefully recorded.⁵⁴ The metropolitan press filled its photographic supplements with rural scenes taken in and around Adelaide: avenues of English trees in the Botanic Park, cows grazing in the parklands, and country lanes in the villages.⁵⁵ The poets wrote of Adelaide as an urban Arcadia:

"A smiling city in a fertile plain
All framed with waving fields of golden grain"

"Adelaide", by K.I.P.⁵⁶

"The winter has gone, and the smiling September
Has spread the green mantle once more o'er the plain,
And blossoms of hope are the orchards adorning
And the buds of the rose are expanding again"

"Adelaide in September", by R. Caldwell.⁵⁷

Adelaide found a new name: it called itself the Garden City.⁵⁸

The term Garden City was first used by Ebenezer Howard in Britain in 1898. He published a book called Tomorrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform in which he outlined his plans for a new type of city in which country and town would be brought together in harmony.⁵⁹ The name came into common use as a description of Adelaide, by Adelaide people, in the early twentieth century, at the same time, indeed, when the greatest anxiety was being shown at the high proportion of city dwellers. In England the Garden City idea was associated with the first town planning movement. In Adelaide the term was used by men who believed that Adelaide could not be improved upon. Charles Reade, who visited South Australia in 1915 as a lecturer for the British Town Planning Association, considered that it was the most backward of the states in recognising the need for town planning.⁶⁰ Everywhere he met with the belief that Adelaide was a "garden city without blemish or flaw".⁶¹

The belief that more people should live in the country was, then, a curiously empty sentiment. The fears about Adelaide's size were encouraged to some extent by the knowledge of anti-urban feeling in other countries, but in Adelaide the anxiety about urban growth had none of its usual accompaniments. The worriers were not nostalgic for country life; they did not believe that city life was inferior or in any way dangerous or degrading; nor did they show any marked respect for men who lived close to the soil. The fears about Adelaide's size seem to have been largely a product of ignorance and

muddled thinking. The worriers were faced with an unusually high metropolitan concentration and they could not understand how it had come about. Why should a "producing" state have half its population in one city? In their minds rural production and rural population were connected in the most simplistic way. They considered Adelaide's growth not as a sign of economic progress, but as a threat to it. Yet in looking at Adelaide itself they could not feel that there was anything wrong. Adelaide was not after all a very big city, even though it had a high proportion of the state's population, and it was regarded by the worriers themselves almost as a Utopia. In Adelaide they had all the pleasures of rural scenery, but none of the discomfort and monotony which they associated with country life. If the Statistician had not troubled them with figures, they could have sung Adelaide's praises without any misgivings whatever.

It was continuously being asserted in Adelaide that country life was inferior and in need of reform. What did country people themselves think of their own lives and of Adelaide? In the seventies and eighties there is little recorded discussion on these matters in the country. On the occasions when country people spoke in general terms about Adelaide and the country it was almost invariably within a political context. For the years after 1896, however, it is possible to follow rural opinion on a whole variety of matters in the pages of the Journal of Agriculture, which was published by the Central Bureau

of Agriculture. The Journal includes summaries of the papers read by farmers at the local Bureau meetings throughout the country and the discussion they provoked. Political matters could not be discussed. The chief concern of the farmers at these meetings was with ways to improve their husbandry, but they also read papers on more general topics. The papers of this sort reveal that the farmers were as critical of rural life as the reformers and others in Adelaide. Around the turn of the century the Journal carried a positive spate of papers with titles such as "How to beautify the farm", "How to make farm life attractive", or "Why do young men and women leave the farm", and these topics continued to be discussed at intervals up until 1914.⁶² Farmers were urging each other to tidy up their homesteads, to stop treating their wives and children as drudges, and to encourage more social and recreational activities. Taking up a theme of the agricultural reformers of the seventies and eighties, farmers read papers to their fellows on the dietary and aesthetic advantages of gardens. Between 1896 and 1914 scores of papers were read throughout the country on what to plant in the garden and how to care for it.⁶³

The concern with these matters was partly a consequence of the new awareness that the amount of agricultural land was limited and that in future farming life would be more settled. But it also reflected the farmers' awareness of the advantages of living in Adelaide. "Country life should be as interesting and enjoyable as

city" said one paper reader, very conscious that it was not.⁶⁴

"Young people on the farm are deprived of many of the privileges of city life and very many of its pleasures", declared another.⁶⁵

If they were to keep their children on the farm - a matter of great concern and the subject of many papers - the farmers realised they would have to match the "easier and gayer life"⁶⁶ which their children could find in the towns and in Adelaide. Some farmers were so critical of rural life that others felt obliged to come to its defence. They spoke of the farmer's independence and his healthy outdoor life, but usually even they, like their fellows, wanted to see farm people enjoy more leisure time and social activities, the admitted advantages of city life.⁶⁷

In his study of the formation of the Australian Country Parties, Dr. Graham discusses the farmers' attitude to the cities in a section called "Agrarian Ideology and Doctrine".⁶⁸ He notes that anti-urbanism was a strong element in the farmers' ideology and describes it in this way:

... the city became the antithesis of the rural utopia. Every good thing in country life was balanced by its opposite in city life, whose bright lights, entertainments, painted women and crowded streets became symbols of an inferior culture.⁶⁹

Anti-urbanism was certainly evident in the discussions that took place at the Agricultural Bureau meetings in South Australia. Some farmers said city life was unhealthy, that it was cursed with "social evils" from which the country was blessedly free, and that the most

enterprising city men came from country stock.⁷⁰ However the dichotomy is nowhere near as sharp as Dr. Graham describes. The criticism of country life was a much more regular theme at the Bureau meetings than criticism of the city, and farmers were very conscious that there were advantages in living in Adelaide. The movement of retired farmers to Adelaide demonstrates this clearly enough, even without the evidence of the proceedings of the Bureau meetings. In the terms in which Dr. Graham defines it, anti-urbanism seems to have been a comparatively weak force among the South Australian farmers.

In his study, Dr. Graham suggests that historians can profitably compare the political activities of the Australian farmers with those of other settlers on new lands, notably in the United States and Canada. It is certainly instructive to compare the distance of the farmers in the West of the United States from the big cities on the eastern seaboard with that of the South Australian farmer from Adelaide. In South Australia most farmers regularly visited the city where the colony was governed both politically and economically. They went there for the Show, to have a holiday, and to transact business. To the American farmer, the eastern cities, where so much that affected their lives was controlled, were foreign places a thousand miles or more away. It is this sense of foreignness which Hofstadter emphasises in his study of the agrarian protest movements in the United States in the late nineteenth century:

Everyone remote and alien was distrusted and hated - even Americans, if they happened to be city people ... Chicago was bad; New York, which housed the Wall Street bankers, was farther away and worse; London was still farther away and still worse.⁷¹

In the South Australian countryside there could be no such feeling of distance and alienation from the big city.

In these same terms a comparison can also be made between the wheat farmers of South Australia and those in the eastern states of Australia. In Victoria and New South Wales the first wheat farms were near the coast and the capital cities, but the wheat growing areas were finally concentrated in a "wheat belt" on the farther side of the Dividing Range. In South Australia the wheat farms began on the northern outskirts of Adelaide and ran continuously northwards between low ranges of hills and around the head of St. Vincent's Gulf and down Yorke Peninsula. No mountain range separated the farmers in these areas from the capital. Yorke Peninsula was separated from Adelaide by a narrow stretch of water, but this merely served to facilitate travel between the two. The South Australian farmers were generally much closer to the sea than those in the eastern states. In 1910 the average distance from farm to port in New South Wales was 242 miles, in Victoria 149 miles, and in South Australia it was a mere 60 miles.⁷² The closeness to the sea removed from most of the settled areas the sense of being inland or outback and it allowed for the establishment of a series of local wheat ports. In New South Wales and Victoria the farmers were often resentful that all their

produce had to be channelled through the capital city.⁷³ These differences may help to explain why the South Australian farmer was less antagonistic towards the city than those whose attitude Dr. Graham has described.

The agricultural reformers and critics had wanted farming practice and farm life to conform to an English and European pattern. These objects did not interest the man on the land whose prime concern, naturally enough, was to make money. The reformers always claimed that their schemes would give the farmer more money, but in rejecting much of their advice the farmers were the best judges of their own interest. In some ways the reformers did assist the farmer: they promoted an interest in a great variety of new crops and products, a few of which were adopted from the eighties; and their concern with agricultural research and education led to the establishment of Roseworthy College and the Agricultural Bureau. But their concern was not merely with the economics of the rural industries. They were worried about the landscape and the quality of country life. In these matters they made little progress. They had some success in promoting the planting of trees, but with the confirmation of wheat as the state's major crop, their ideal of a closely worked and closely settled countryside remained unfulfilled.

Though the country landscape was not transformed, in Adelaide and its surroundings men produced a rural environment on which their

eyes could rest with pleasure. Groves of English trees grew in the parklands, the city squares and on the gentry's estates. The city was ringed with farms, orchards and vineyards and its boundaries marked by the hills and the sea. The country might still need improvement, but in Adelaide men had formed an exquisite thing, a Garden City. In the new century in Adelaide there was much talk of the need to settle more people in the country, but no conviction that they would enjoy a more healthy or pleasant life than that of Adelaide's citizens.

Adelaide's pride in itself might have been expected to produce a strong reaction in the country, yet the farmers hesitated to boast of the superiority of country life or even of their own virtue. They acknowledged that they had neglected to plant trees and gardens, that they had treated their wives and children badly, and that they had not encouraged sufficient social activities. They were very conscious of the advantage of living in Adelaide, which they visited regularly and where some of them retired. In contrast to their criticism of country life, their anti-urban feeling was comparatively mild.

SECTION 7ADELAIDE AND THE COUNTRY

By 1870 the Australian colonies were already highly urbanised societies. In the three south-eastern colonies urbanisation was characterised by a high degree of metropolitan concentration and a comparatively limited development of secondary towns.¹ South Australia displayed these two features in their most extreme form. Never less than a third of the colony's population lived within a ten mile radius of the city centre. From the mid seventies Adelaide's population was growing more rapidly than the country's and from the eighties there was a large scale movement of people out of the country. By 1914 half the people of South Australia lived in the capital. The towns outside Adelaide were by comparison very small places: none grew to more than 10,000 people before 1914 and there were only a few with a population in excess of 2,000.

Like the other Australian capitals, Adelaide was first and foremost a commercial and financial centre. It prospered on exporting the primary produce of the interior and importing a wide range of goods for both town and country. In the period 1870-1914 Adelaide increased its hold over the wool trade until it handled all the state's wool except that grown in the South East. Throughout the period nearly all South Australia's imports passed through Port Adelaide. However, Adelaide's commercial dominance did not depend on goods actually

passing through its port. The typical Australian railway network has frequently been characterised as a fan centred on a capital city, and this has been taken as true of South Australia.² However, the South Australian railways did not conform to this pattern. By the late eighties nearly all the railways in the colony were connected to Adelaide, but in the seventies railway development had been concentrated on the construction of lines inland from outports on the two gulfs and in the South East. The five railways serving the gulf ports carried all the wheat crop of the new northern areas and they continued to do so after the railways had been connected into one network. From the late seventies onwards Port Adelaide handled less than one half of the colony's chief export, wheat. Nevertheless, these developments served only to emphasise Adelaide's dominance. The Adelaide wheat merchants followed the farmers and set up branches in the new ports and agencies along the new railway lines. The closeness of good agricultural land to the sea encouraged wheat farming in South Australia, but Adelaide merchants ensured that the new wheat ports remained subservient.

The special circumstances of South Australia's mining and pastoral industries meant that Adelaide became the headquarters of mineowners and pastoralists. Copper mining required considerable amounts of capital even for its initial operations and the three largest mines at Burra, Wallaroo and Moonta were all from the outset financed and administered from Adelaide. The chief proprietor of the smaller Kapunda

mine moved to Adelaide soon after the mine began operations. The concentration of pastoralists in Adelaide was not quite so marked. In the South East pastoralists established themselves on free hold estates and lived the life of a country gentry. However, on the rest of the good lands the squatters had to contend with a law which denied them security of tenure and with geographical conditions favourable to small holdings. From the early seventies the law was tipped even more heavily in the farmers' favour. The general sense of insecurity within the pastoral industry meant that it tended to remain more a business than a way of life on the land, and many of those who survived decided that Adelaide was the most congenial and convenient place from which to administer their affairs. In the city pastoralists broadened their economic interests and rural wealth became closely connected with urban. The connection was strengthened further by city men taking up pastoral land. In the late nineteenth century this tight-knit group provided both the city and the colony with social and political leadership.)

(In the hopeful days of the seventies it was a popular past-time to compare the outports and the country towns of South Australia with the cities of England or North America. Both Kingston and Port Pirie were hailed as the Liverpool of South Australia, with Port Pirie finally taking that palm. Gawler with its agricultural and mining machinery factories was described as the local Sheffield. Goolwa, the port for the Murray trade on Lake Alexandrina, presented a problem:

was it to be Chicago because of the Lake or New Orleans on account of the river mouth.³ What staggering incongruities these were! Goolwa's population never reached a thousand and Port Pirie was never large enough to sustain a daily newspaper. At least the machine shops of Gawler were owned by Gawler men, but at the Liverpool of South Australia all the wheat was shipped by Adelaide merchants and the town's smelting works, to which it owed its foremost position among the country towns, were owned and managed by a company in Melbourne. There was no independent mercantile community here or at any of the outports. Since the 1840s the largest town outside Adelaide had always been a company town with an absentee board of directors: first it was Burra, then Moonta, and finally Port Pirie. The game of christening towns with borrowed names took for its models nations with a number of large urban centres. It applied them with startling results to a colony which was more akin to a city-state.

The city-states of classical and medieval times covered only a small area, some being no larger than the city itself. At first glance South Australia's large area makes the comparison seem incongruous, even though the city did contain such a high proportion of the colony's population. Yet the area of the colony was not so large that the city's merchants could not control very nearly all its trade. The merchants of the Italian city-states went to war to extend the area of their trade; the Adelaide merchants were able to increase their

business simply by following the settlers as they brought new areas into production. On the eastern borders of Adelaide's hinterland the parallel with the warring Italian republics was closer. Here Adelaide merchants encountered those from Melbourne and Sydney. The contest for the trade of western and southern New South Wales and for that of the South East was not simply between merchants, but between governments. As a subsequent section will show, the chief weapon in these contests was the state-owned railway.⁴

Though country people were spread over a wide area, they could visit the capital quite readily. Farmers and business men travelled to Adelaide regularly by coach, train, coastal steamer, and in the new century, by car. They went to transact business and they took their families to view the Zoo, the Botanic Gardens and the city's other wonders, and to have a holiday. Twice a year at Show time there were so many country people in Adelaide that the metropolis looked more like a market town. The transaction of political business was an important part of many trips to town. Country people met their parliamentary representatives and together made up deputations to wait on Ministers. At Show time Ministers were kept busy for a week meeting deputations from all parts of the colony. The Greek ideal of a city-state was one in which all its citizens could gather in one place and know each other personally.⁵ Deputations begging for the spending of public money were not a central

part of the Greek democracy, but the gathering of country people into the city and the face to face encounters between governors and governed came closer to their ideal.

In ancient and medieval times the contrast between town and country was frequently one between safety and danger. Mumford describes how the city wall "made a clean break between city and countryside ... between the open field, subject to the depredations of wild animals, nomadic robbers, invading armies, and the fully enclosed city, where one could work and sleep with a sense of utter security, even in times of military peril".⁶ People in the South Australian countryside were not subject to those dangers, but on many occasions Adelaide was for them a refuge, a place where help and comfort might be found. Consider the plight of a newly bereaved widow on a farm near Redhill in the seventies. Her husband had died as a result of an arm injury he received when he tripped and fell beneath his wagon. A drunken doctor who treated him first had not set the arm properly and on the day the father died one of his sons became very ill as a result of a severe chill caught while he was riding through the rain to get another doctor. He died a fortnight after his father. Soon after these calamities, a three year old daughter became sick. Her mother left an older daughter in charge of the farm and her four sons, and set off with the sick child in the spring dray. She was taking no chances this time - she was going to Adelaide, a journey which took her three days. Eventually she returned with a healthy child.⁷ Or

consider the young man riding his bicycle from Moonta beside the phaeton which was taking his sister to a nursing home in Adelaide,⁸ or the young labourer suffering agonies with a splinter in his eye walking in to Port Pirie in a fruitless search for a doctor and then coming by ship to Adelaide.⁹ For these and for others Adelaide was the place where they could be certain of help. In the seventies the sick were carried to Adelaide by cart, train and boat from nearly all parts of the colony. Gradually more hospitals were built in the country, but most of these were small affairs, and Adelaide remained the colony's only major medical centre, an attraction for the old as well as the sick. For the old who were destitute and without friends and relatives in the colony, the Destitute Asylum in Adelaide remained the only institution which would take them in. The Destitute Board paid for their journey to the city and it was there that bushmen, shepherds and country labourers spent their last years. For two groups of women Adelaide was also a place of refuge. The city always contained a higher proportion of women than men, but widows and spinsters especially favoured it as their home. Throughout the period no country town could match the creature comforts of Adelaide whose citizens had the benefit of gas, water and sewerage services.

Colonial Light encircled Adelaide not with a wall but with a ring of parklands. Even after the suburbs grew on the further side of the parklands Adelaide remained a very open city. Nothing demonstrates this better than the meets of the Adelaide Hunt Club. The horses

galloped across the fields between the suburban villages and the suburbs proper and made incursions between the suburbs and came almost to the boundaries of the parklands themselves. Because of the openness of Adelaide there was no clear distinction, at least for the wealthy, between town life and country life. In England, as Asa Briggs points out, the wealthy had a strong aversion to living in towns: "Towns were places where men made a livelihood: country houses were places where men lived".¹⁰ In Adelaide many of the wealthy showed a similar preference for country life, but the country houses they built were part of the town. They were nearly all included in the metropolitan area as first defined by the Statistician in 1891. The owners of the country houses went each day to the city to their chambers and warehouses, to sit on boards and committees, or to attend sessions of the parliament. In the afternoons their wives and daughters paid calls in North Adelaide and along North Terrace. The wealthy who lived in the city proper visited the country houses for Hunt Club luncheons and balls. When the gentry played polo or rode out to the hunt they were watched by crowds from the town population. It was to this amalgam of city and country life that the squatters were attracted from the countryside proper. For them, sheep stations were places where men made a livelihood, but houses in Adelaide were places where men lived.

By the early twentieth century the Hunt Club had ceased to hold its meets so close to the city's centre and the country houses no longer supported the style of life of the seventies and eighties.

It was then that the city's boosters claimed that all Adelaide's citizens could enjoy the pleasures of both town and country, as the gentry had done. Adelaide was described as a Garden City in which all the people were close to parkland, public squares, or farms, orchards and vineyards. The claims made for Adelaide as a Garden City were to some extent justified, though they encouraged an enormous complacency about the city's condition and inhibited any planning for its future growth. Yet a house in Adelaide's suburbs was an ideal for people other than the self-satisfied boosters. After years of toiling on the land, many farmers exchanged their broad acres for a suburban plot and spent their last years in Adelaide. For them, too, the country was a place in which to work, but Adelaide the place in which to make a home.

The claim that Adelaide was a great Garden City was in one sense making a virtue of necessity. Adelaide could not out-do Melbourne or Sydney by boasting of its population or the size and grandeur of its buildings, so the boosters drew attention to specifically non-urban qualities of Adelaide. But though Adelaide adopted a rural image of itself, it had all the self-confidence of a metropolis. The self-confidence of Adelaide's citizens is particularly evident in their approach to what they took to be the problems of the country. They were sure that Adelaide was an ideal place in which to live and they were equally certain that country life was capable of great improvement. The schemes of the agricultural reformers of the seventies and eighties

where remarkable for their pretentiousness. They wanted, as Krichauff said on the first Arbor Day, to transform the whole aspect of South Australia. Their aim was to have the land worked more closely and more scientifically, to remove the barrenness and monotony of the landscape, and to improve the quality of country life. In all this they took the English and European countryside as their ideal. Though the reformers were instrumental in introducing some changes in farming practice and the landscape, the country was not remade according to their formula. However, from the nineties the farmers themselves were taking an interest in the appearance of their homesteads and farms and the quality of their lives. They were not troubled by remembrances of other landscapes: they aimed to make their lives as comfortable and pleasant as those lived in the city. The reformers' vision of what the country should be was not realised but Adelaide's standards of comfort and pleasure everywhere prevailed.

PART II

POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP

SECTION 1HOLDING AND LOSING THE COUNTRY, POLITICS 1870-1887

The chief preoccupation of parliaments and governments in this period was with the development of the country, which in the nineteenth century meant the settling of people on the land and the construction of railways, roads and harbours to serve them. In the history of land legislation and public works policies these years emerge as a separate era.

The year 1869 marks an important change in the history of land settlement with the passing of the first Act allowing farmers to take up crown lands on credit. Thereafter a land bill designed to amend or extend previous measures was discussed almost every year until 1888. Various problems together constituted the "land question" as it was called - parliament had to decide how much land could be taken up, in what parts of the colony, on what terms, how simultaneous applications were to be decided upon, and what concessions should be given to selectors in difficulty. All these questions were finally resolved with the passage of a consolidating land bill in 1888 which established Land Boards with wide discretionary powers.¹ By this time, too, the great rush into new areas had ended. Development thereafter proceeded more slowly and within a more settled legal framework.

(This was the great age of railway building, the most sought after and most expensive of government undertakings. In 1870 there

were 193 miles of railway open. At the end of 1887 all the railway systems of the colony were connected into one network; there were 1,420 miles of railway, and 353 miles authorised and under construction. After this great effort there was a long lull in railway building. During the next fifteen years only 56 miles of new line were authorised.²

When South Australia entered a period of severe economic depression in the mid eighties, the preoccupations of parliament and the nature of politics changed radically. Tentatively in 1885, and decisively in 1887, the parliament dropped its former free-trade policy in favour of a high protectionist tariff. In 1887 it also passed a bill providing for the payment of members of parliament. At the general elections early in 1887 the organised forces of the Adelaide working-class entered the political arena for the first time. The Trades and Labour Council, formed in 1884, adopted a political programme and endorsed candidates who would support all or most of its points. After again endorsing candidates for the 1890 election, the Trades and Labour Council helped to found the Labour Party early in 1891. Within a year the first Labour members entered the Council and the Assembly. The electoral success and parliamentary cohesion of the Labour Party wrought considerable changes in political life in the nineties; in the early twentieth century they transformed it.

The depression, which was in part a cause of both the

adoption of a protectionist tariff and the rise of the Labour Party, was responsible for an important change in the colony's public finances, those matters at the heart of the process of government. Prior to 1884 there was no direct taxation apart from a small probate and succession duty imposed in 1876. Nearly all the colony's revenue came from customs duties and the receipts from the sale and lease of crown lands.³ After the bad seasons of the early eighties many farmers could not keep up the payments on their land and the advance northward onto new lands came to a sudden halt. The sharp drop in the land revenue which followed forced the government to seek a new source of income; it found it in a land and income tax first levied in 1885.

At the same time as parliament was considering land and income taxes, land nationalisation societies were formed which quickly adopted as their programme Henry George's principle that all forms of taxation should be abolished except a tax on land to the extent of its full rental value. The Labour Party, strongly influenced by George's ideas, urged that duties on the necessities of life should be removed and replaced by a higher tax on land. To resist these demands for higher taxation was one of the chief purposes of the National Defence League, formed in 1891 by Adelaide lawyers, merchants and landholders. This body was the strongest partner of the three political parties which amalgamated in 1910 to form a single opposition to the Labour Party - the Liberal Union.

No political parties, in the modern sense of the word, existed during this earlier period. Various bodies did, of course, involve themselves in politics: the brewers and the abstainers worked hard to return candidates favourable to their views; the Catholics sought to wring some concession from parliament for their schools; and workingmen's associations opposed immigration. The Farmers Mutual Association, formed in 1879 and surviving until 1891, was the nearest approach to a party of the bodies that took an interest in elections. Branches of the association were formed in many parts of the colony. A central executive sat at Gladstone, and conferences were held in Adelaide. Unlike other bodies, which usually had only one political object, the Association adopted a fairly comprehensive political programme, though its membership was limited to farmers and their sons. As well as recommending candidates at elections, the Association sometimes brought out its own men. This body, whose history will be examined in more detail later,⁴ was the only specifically country voice to be heard in political affairs. Between 1870 and 1914 it enjoyed the longest life of any rural political association.

In the absence of political parties each member of parliament was free to offer his support and make alliances in the ways best suited to serve his constituents, the welfare of the whole colony, or his own interest and ambition. Members did not divide on clear grounds of policy or principle. Each ministry came into

office with a body of supporters who had combined to pass a vote of no-confidence in the previous ministry, but usually the public heard little of an alternative programme until portfolios had been allotted, and a week's adjournment had passed to allow ministers to reconcile their own and their supporters' views. Similarly at elections the premier would proclaim a policy, which would be variously supported and condemned, but rarely was there a recognised opposition policy.

The 1875 elections were exceptional in this regard. The Blyth Government which had been in power for eighteen months had a creditable record, having passed several railway bills and thrown open the whole colony for credit selection. However, the lawyer and ex-premier James Boucaut considered the time was ripe for governments to attempt much more. Late in the 1874 session he announced his "bold and comprehensive" policy of a whole system of railways and a harbour near the Murray mouth. He gathered a considerable following in parliament and at the 1875 elections men could vote for candidates who had announced their support for Boucaut and his policy. When parliament re-assembled the government was defeated and Boucaut formed a ministry. He introduced his great public works proposal and linked it with a Bill to impose a stamp tax because he claimed that it was irresponsible to borrow large sums without providing extra revenue to meet interest payments. The Legislative Council rejected the Stamp Tax Bill and the 1875 session ended without any of the

new public works proposals being passed. Early in 1876 Boucaut had to reconstruct his cabinet when two of his ministers resigned. In these straits he acted like many premiers both before and after him - he dropped his colleagues and took into his cabinet men who had opposed him during the previous session. His erstwhile supporters threw the new ministry out as soon as parliament re-assembled.⁵ After a brief interlude normalcy had returned. John Colton became Premier and his Government adopted Boucaut's public works policy, but dropped the stamp tax proposal.

(One of the most notable features of the politics of this period was the predominance of Adelaide men in both Houses of Parliament.⁶ In 1872 the number of members of the House of Assembly was increased by ten, from the original 36 to 46. Of these 13 were to sit for metropolitan constituencies and 33 were to represent the country.⁷ At the next election in 1875 the country constituencies returned 15 country residents and 18 Adelaide residents. The metropolitan constituencies all returned Adelaide men, which meant that in a House of 46 no less than 31 members were permanently resident in Adelaide.) Most of these Adelaide men were still actively engaged in their business or profession. On three afternoons a week for four or five months of the year, merchants, squatters; bankers, agents of various sorts and professional men (particularly lawyers) left their chambers and warehouses to carry on the public business of the country.⁸

For the country member service in parliament was far more

demanding. Only a few from nearby constituencies could go home at the end of each day's sitting. The rest had either to travel back and forth each week, or take rooms in Adelaide for the whole session. In either case they could not carry on public and private business with as little inconvenience as the Adelaide members. At a time when there were few men, particularly in the country, who were completely free from the necessity of earning their living, a parliament in which service was voluntary was bound to contain many men who lived at the seat of government. If country people decided they wanted a local representative, they sometimes had difficulty in finding anyone able or willing to stand.⁹

In 1872 one concession was made to country members who travelled back and forth each week. Instead of meeting from Tuesday to Friday members agreed to make Tuesday to Thursday the parliamentary week. A shorter week enabled country members to spend more time at their homes. When parliamentary business became pressing, particularly towards the end of a session, Friday sittings were reintroduced, but as time went on even this became a rare occurrence. The country members also wanted the sitting to begin at 2.15 p.m. instead of 1.45 because the train from the north did not arrive until just after 2 p.m. With assurances from the Commissioner of Public Works that he would arrange for the train to go faster and not stop so long in stations, members agreed to compromise on a two o'clock start.¹⁰

In the seventies the Legislative Council was still elected

by the whole colony voting as one constituency, the system adopted in the 1856 constitution. This mode of election gave Adelaide men extra advantages in addition to those which made it so easy for them to serve in the Assembly. A successful business or professional man in the city would be known to the metropolitan electors, who constituted a considerable proportion of the whole, and to a good many country electors as well. A successful country man, on the other hand, would enjoy a local reputation, but he was generally unknown in other country districts and in Adelaide. Since it was virtually impossible to campaign throughout the whole colony, a man's reputation and his purse were of great importance in Council elections. As a consequence, Adelaide men were able to make the Legislative Council a House almost exclusively their own. Of the sixty-six members elected to the Council between 1857 and 1882 only ten were resident in the country.¹¹ In 1875 there were three country residents in a House of eighteen. The Adelaide men who sat in the Council were of much the same stamp as those in the Assembly, though the proportion of squatters was higher and the representatives of commerce tended to be more substantial men.¹²

With Adelaide men predominating in both Houses Adelaide interests were understandably not very concerned at the actual number of Assembly seats which were allotted to the metropolitan area. It happened that the 1872 electoral act distributed seats fairly evenly between Adelaide and the country,¹³ but thereafter Adelaide always

returned fewer members than its population entitled it to.

The 1872 act gave five members to the city proper - one to North Adelaide, and two each to East and West Adelaide, and two each to East and West Adelaide. These electorates had more constituents per member than any of the others. On the other hand, three of the four suburban electorates (which each returned two members) had fewer electors per member than the average.¹⁴ Overall the seven metropolitan electorates contained 30% of the electors and returned 28% of the members.¹⁵ In the second half of the seventies Adelaide was growing more rapidly than the country, but the next rearrangement of electorates, which took place in 1882, was prompted by changes in the rural population. The migration of farmers from the older settled districts to the north and Yorke Peninsula had greatly increased the electors in those areas and left the five districts in the hill country south and east of Adelaide with a ratio of electors per member far below the average. As was the custom when redistribution was being considered the chief returning officer prepared a new schedule of districts based on the principle that each member should represent the same number of electors, which accordingly made drastic cuts in the representation of the old districts. The report was, as always, ignored. Naturally enough the members for these districts could not be persuaded to assist in the passing of such a self-denying ordinance, nor would they countenance more modest proposals for a slight reduction in the representation of these areas.

In a small House their votes were decisive. So instead of re-portioning the representation the government finally left the old districts unchanged and gave extra representation to new districts by enlarging the size of the House. One of the new members was given to North Adelaide, not so much through any desire to increase the representation of the city, but because parliament had resolved that all electorates should return two members.¹⁶ After 1882 the metropolitan electorates returned 14 members in a House of 52, which gave them 27% of the membership (1% less than in 1872), though they had grown to contain 36% of the voters.¹⁷

No one was particularly concerned at the under-representation of Adelaide. (Oddly enough Playford, whose principles in this matter were more strict than those of his more famous grandson, was one of the few leading politicians to attack the over-representation of the older country districts which had the effect of reducing Adelaide's share of the membership.¹⁸) When they felt the need to justify the under-representation of Adelaide, ministers and members claimed that it was easier for Adelaide constituents to vote and to influence their members and that the large numbers of Adelaide men sitting for country districts ensured that the city was more than adequately represented.¹⁹

In 1881 the colony was divided into four districts for the election of Legislative Councillors. This change was one of several included in the Constitution Amendment Act which also increased the number of Councillors from 18 to 24, shortened their term of office,

and provided for a dissolution of the Council or the election of additional members in the event of a prolonged disagreement between the two Houses.²⁰ On many occasions in the seventies when the Council rejected bills passed by the Assembly and widely supported outside it, measures to make the Council more responsible to the electorate had been talked of. Country people in particular maintained that the colony had to be divided into districts to break the power of Adelaide candidates and Adelaide voters.²¹ The Farmers Association made this one of the points in its political platform.²²

The government's Reform Bill in 1881 had provided for six districts. The more conservative Councillors, still unwilling to be tied to any district smaller than the whole colony, forced a compromise at four.²³ Assembly electorates were grouped together to form the new districts. Those to the north of Adelaide and on the two peninsulas formed the North Eastern and Northern districts. Central district consisted of six of the seven metropolitan electorates. The other, East Torrens, became part of Southern, which included all electorates south and east of Adelaide. Members seem to have been concerned that each district have roughly the same number of electors, though, even with the exclusion of East Torrens, Central had more than the others.²⁴ Only one Councillor, an Adelaide man, drew attention to this under-representation, but he was told by his colleagues that Adelaide could take care of itself.²⁵ In both Houses members asserted that with the advance of agriculture,

Northern, which had the fewest electors, would soon have more than Central.²⁶ Despite protests in the Assembly at the absurdity of including the suburban East Torrens in Southern, which stretched to Mount Gambier 300 miles from Adelaide, the Council's proposals were accepted.²⁷

The adoption of districts did not of course guarantee the election of large numbers of country men to the Council. The reform bill had only reduced a Councillor's term from twelve to eight years so change could not be rapid. Not until members were paid could the country regularly return country men to the Council. Nonetheless by 1887 the number of country members had increased to seven in a House of twenty-four.

After 1882 the swift advance of farmers into new areas ceased, and with it the need to create new electoral districts to represent them. For twenty years the electoral districts of both Houses remained virtually unchanged.²⁸ As Adelaide's population continued to grow more rapidly than the country's, the gap between its proportion of the parliamentary membership and its proportion of the electors grew wider. It became wider still after 1894 with the granting of votes to women, because they outnumbered men in Adelaide and were outnumbered by them in the country. By 1901 44% of the Assembly's electors lived in Adelaide, but they returned only 26% of the House's membership.²⁹ The population of the Northern district of the Council, which members considered in 1881 would grow rapidly,

never did reach the population of Central. In 1901 there were more than twice as many Legislative Council electors in Central as in North Eastern, the smallest of the four districts.³⁰ The disability of the metropolitan area passed unchallenged until the rise of the Labour Party. Since it could win seats readily in Adelaide, but not in the country, it adopted a policy of equal electoral districts.³¹ As in so many other matters the argument over how many seats Adelaide should have only began when the era of development was over.

Though Adelaide could well be content at the number of men it had in parliament, some country electors wanted to put an end to the representation of country seats by Adelaide men. At public meetings, especially at election time, and in the open columns of the country press the need for local representation was constantly being urged. Gradually the demand for local representation became identified with the demand that members of parliament be paid. A motion for payment was first debated in the Assembly in 1871. The argument continued intermittently for thirteen years before the Assembly passed a measure providing for payment in 1884. The Legislative Council rejected this Bill and those which the Assembly passed in 1885 and 1886. In 1887 it relented and allowed payment to be made for the years 1888-1891. In 1890 payment of members was made permanent.³²

One reason why the introduction of payment was delayed so long was that most members were personally opposed to it. They believed that the British practice of voluntary service could not be improved

upon. What they also had to consider, of course, was whether they could still hold their seats if payment were introduced. By the eighties members opposing payment were generally either rich men or Adelaide men representing country seats.³³ As the register of Assembly members after 1887 shows, these were the men who had most cause to fear the introduction of payment. But members could not have delayed the issue so long without the large body of opinion which supported them in the electorate.

Far from wishing to supplant Adelaide men, some country people positively preferred them. When advocates of local representation suggested that a local man could better understand their wishes and wants, they were sometimes told that an Adelaide man could be easily informed of both, and that he could achieve more for them than a local man. This argument depicted a local representative in parliament as a confused new chum having no influence or following; and it contrasted him with an able Adelaide man moving easily at the centre of things and having an established political reputation, who might be included in a ministry where he could see that the electorate's wants were met.³⁴ The ideal, occasionally realised, was for the electorate to be represented by two such men: one in the ministry, and the other a leading light of the opposition.³⁵ This argument, of course, distorted the reality for there were always some able country members and not a few metropolitan nonentities. Certainly, however, Adelaide men predominated in cabinet even more than they did in the

House. Of the men who composed the ministries formed between 1870 and 1886 only 22% were country men.³⁶ All the premiers were Adelaide men. The predominance of Adelaide men in government no doubt had something to do with superior ability, but they had other advantages. Partly because it was easier for them to participate in politics they tended to survive longer and while serving as ministers they could still run their own affairs, or at least keep an eye on them. Country members were probably not as anxious for a place in cabinet because as ministers they would have had to spend even longer away from their homes and businesses.

The eagerness with which an Adelaide man could be sought is well illustrated by the return of Randolph Stow as one of the members for Light, the electorate centred on Kapunda. He won this seat at a by-election in 1873. When vacancies occurred or a general election was held it was usual for various groups of local residents to invite candidates to stand or for gentlemen wishing to find a seat to arrange a local committee to support him. On this occasion one group of Kapunda residents, setting their sights high, sent a telegram to Stow asking him to stand. Stow was a Queen's Council, the son of T. Q. Stow, congregational minister and founding father. He had represented three constituencies during the sixties, but since then he had been refusing to stand again. Now, however, he told the Kapunda people he would stand if he received a requisition - this was the customary form of provisional acceptance. Such was Stow's reputation that as soon

as his answer was made known all other candidates, both Adelaide and local, retired. The committee collected signatures on the requisition and they decided to present it personally in Adelaide instead of posting it down. Only one person in Kapunda seemed to have reservations about Stow. He was Ebenezer Ward, proprietor of one of the town's newspapers, and himself a member of parliament, though not for the Light district. Ward berated the citizens for asking Stow to stand without having any idea of his political opinions. As a leading land reformer Ward particularly wanted to know where Stow stood on this issue. Some gentlemen replied that they were not pledged to support Stow until they had heard his opinions. This was no defence, said Ward, because once Stow was standing, no matter what his opinions, no one else would dare to contest the seat with him. But after Stow had explained his views at a public meeting in Kapunda Ward declared that they had had a lucky escape: Stow was after all on the side of the reformers. On the day nominations closed he was elected unopposed.³⁷

By the eighties less was heard of the superiority of Adelaide men, and the preference for local representatives became more general. However, many country electors were not prepared to advocate payment of members to secure local men. A substantial minority of the members of the Farmers Association took up this position. When the Executive of the Association asked branches to submit their political views in 1880, twenty-two reported in favour of payment, and thirteen were opposed.³⁸ Within the Executive itself only the Chairman's casting

vote put payment of members on the Association's platform for the 1881 elections.³⁹ It was not until 1887, the year payment was passed, that there was a unanimous vote in favour of it at the Association's annual conference.⁴⁰ The opponents of payment felt that it would create a class of political adventurers who would do anything so long as they kept their salary. They maintained that it was much safer to return monied men who could afford to be independent and who were less likely to be tempted into corrupt practices.⁴¹

Some of the opponents, like members of parliament themselves, might have feared a parliament composed of poorer men, but the deep division within the Farmers Association indicates that opinion did not divide according to class or economic interest. The strength of the conservative attitude can be understood when it is remembered that at this time there were no parties or programmes to help electors predict how a candidate would behave if he were returned. It was assumed that a man with an honourable and successful career in his business or profession would be able to conduct public business honestly and competently. But the voluntary system did not produce perfect parliaments. Supporters of payment sometimes pointed out that even without payment there were some members who could well be called adventurers. They did not come to the House with an established reputation or income, but were clearly using politics to advance their personal position.⁴² But the ideal member did exist. When the Adelaide squatter, George Hawker, resigned as a member for

the South Eastern electorate of Victoria the Border Watch spoke proudly of his long service to the colony and the district,

He soon took a forward position in the House of Assembly, which his ability as a speaker, his high culture, fairness, and breadth of view well qualified him to do ... he always acted in a highly conscientious way ... he took a broad and statesman-like view of questions affecting the colony as a whole, and ... he was zealous in trying to get recognition of all the claims of the South East on parliament.⁴³

The great desideratum was to find these qualities in a local man. For a long time, if no satisfactory local man was available, many country people were prepared to accept an Adelaide absentee rather than risk the danger of payment of members.

Though Adelaide men pre-dominated in the Assembly throughout the period 1870 to 1887, their hold on the country seats varied quite markedly within these years. The first of the accompanying tables shows the place of residence of the country representatives in the Assembly for each parliament from 1868 to 1896. The second table gives the place of residence of all members of the Assembly for the same period. There are three categories of representatives whom I have classed as country residents. The first (those resident in their electorate) and the third (those resident in some other country district) require no comment. Those included in the second category (Electorate, then Adelaide) moved to the city after their election or just before it. Usually they had been very prominent in the life of the district before their election or their move to Adelaide. Of the six men in this category elected at the 1884 elections, five had held office as mayor

TABLE 8 Place of Residence of Members Elected for
Country Seats in the House of Assembly, 1868-1896

Residence	1868	1870	1871	1875	1878	1881	1884	1887	1890	1893	1896
Electorate	8	12	11	12	7	8	9	13	21	22	23
Electorate, then Adelaide	1	1	1	2	4	5	6	6	4	5	5
Other country district				1			1	1			2
Total Country	9	13	12	15	11	13	16	20	25	27	30
Adelaide	15	11	12	18	22	20	22	18	13	11	8
Percent Country Residents	37.5	54.2	50.0	45.5	33.3	39.4	42.1	52.6	65.8	71.1	78.9
Percent Adelaide Residents	62.5	45.8	50.0	55.5	66.7	60.6	57.9	47.4	34.2	28.9	21.1

TABLE 9 Place of Residence of All Members of the
House of Assembly, 1868-1896

Residence	1868	1870	1871	1875	1878	1881	1884	1887	1890	1893	1896
Country (all categories)	10	13	13	15	11	13	16	20	25	27	30
Adelaide	26	23	23	31	35	33	36	32	27	25	22
Percent Adelaide Residents	72.2	63.9	63.9	67.4	76.1	71.7	69.2	61.5	51.9	48.1	42.3

Notes:

1. The figures refer to the members elected at each general election. Members unseated by the Court of Disputed Returns have been passed over in favour of the member who finally obtained the seat. Otherwise no account has been taken of by elections.
2. The two members returned by the Northern Territory from 1890 have not been included.
3. Until 1872 the electorate of Port Adelaide included Yorke Peninsula and it was thus both a city and a country electorate. It has been treated here as a city electorate. In 1871 one of its members lived in the country, at Watervale. This explains why the Country (all categories) figure in the second table is one more than that shown for Total Country in the first. A similar difference occurs in the 1868 figures because one of Port Adelaide's members lived at Wallaroo.

or district council chairman.⁴⁴ They lived in Adelaide so they could attend parliament more easily and because, like many others, they regarded it as the best place to spend their retirement. They were classified by contemporaries as local representatives and I have treated them as such. However, I have not included in this category the few Adelaide men who had at one stage resided in their electorate but who had left it many years before their election.

The first table shows that in 1870 the proportion of country residents elected for the country seats was comparatively high. The proportion was 54%, which represented a marked rise over that in the previous parliament when the figure had been 37%. However, after reaching this peak the proportion dropped steadily for each of the successive parliaments of the seventies until in 1878 only 33% of the country's representatives were country men. This was the high point in Adelaide's control over the country. Thereafter the proportion of country residents began to rise steadily. By 1887 it had almost returned to what it had been in 1870, and already, as a result of the increase in the number of country seats, the proportion of country residents in the House as a whole was greater than it had been in 1870. By 1896 78% of the members elected by the country were country residents. The Adelaide absentees were a doomed race. The introduction of payment of members helped to sustain the rise in the country membership, but it was clear by 1887 that Adelaide's hold on the country was slipping.

The change in the Assembly's composition in the eighties was not merely in the proportion of country residents, but in their quality. Among the new members were Glynn, Holder and Bews who were powerful debaters in the House and the wielders of considerable influence through the editorial columns of the country papers in their electorates. Three other new members, Catt, Howe and Cockburn, were included in ministries very soon after their entry into the House in the eighties. The proportion of country residents in cabinets increased sharply. During the seventies only 12% of the men composing ministries had been country men. For the eighties the proportion was 28%. These new country representatives helped to revitalise the payment of members campaign. During his first year as a member in 1884 John Cockburn, a doctor and ex-Mayor of Jamestown, persuaded the Assembly to pass a Bill providing for payment. Alfred Catt, storekeeper and ex-Mayor of Gladstone, introduced the Bill of 1886 and as Commissioner of Public Works in the Playford Government he was in charge of the Bill which became law in 1887.⁴⁵

The strength of the agitation for payment of members varied in the same way as the proportion of country residents elected for the country seats. In 1871 when the Assembly first debated the question of payment of members it actually passed a resolution in favour of reimbursing travelling and other expenses,⁴⁶ yet thereafter until 1884 it gave an adverse vote to every proposal to reimburse or pay members. Following the passing of the resolution in 1871, which

had been introduced by Playford as a private member, the Government brought down a Bill which embodied his proposal. This had only reached the first reading stage when the Parliament was dissolved. Even had the session continued longer it is by no means certain that members would have been as ready to pass or even discuss a Bill as they were to vote for the resolution, and had the Bill passed the Assembly the Council would certainly have rejected it. Nonetheless, this resolution was passed, and those brought forward in the next thirteen years were all rejected. During the 1871 debate several members reported that they had been obliged to pledge themselves to support payment of members at the previous election.⁴⁷ Members were not under this sort of pressure again until the mid-eighties.

The variations in the strength of the payment of members agitation and in the proportion of country representatives reflected changes in the way country people viewed the performance of parliaments and governments. This section will now examine the three major issues of the period - the tariff, land reform and public works - in order to discover why on some occasions country people were very ready to accept Adelaide men and why on others they tended to favour local representatives more and were more eager for payment of members. Why could Adelaide hold the country and why eventually was it losing it?

The Tariff

On the tariff question, the interest and predilection of most country electorates were the same as those of the Adelaide merchants, squatters and professional men who so frequently were their parliamentary representatives. The success of farming meant that South Australian wheat faced no competition in the local market. South Australian farmers were accordingly free traders. In this they differed from farmers in New South Wales and Victoria who sought protection to keep South Australian and foreign wheat out of their local markets. To secure protection they acted in uneasy alliance with urban workers and manufacturers.⁴⁸ In South Australia, on the other hand, the protection movement, centred on Adelaide, had great difficulty in finding allies in the country. There were some manufacturing industries spread throughout the colony, but only in Gawler did the manufacturers and their employees have a commanding voice. Generally country electorates followed the interest of the wheat farmers, and the farmers were not to be easily converted to protection. This is nicely illustrated by the way the Farmers Association treated the overtures of H. A. Grainger, a leading protectionist in Adelaide.

Grainger owned and edited a radical weekly paper, the Australian Star, which advocated protection. The paper set out to woo the farmers from free trade. They were told that a protectionist policy would give them more local consumers and so free them from dependence on foreign markets. The Australian Star favoured a lower freight

rate for wheat on the railways, it took a sympathetic interest in the Farmers Association and printed reports of its meetings.⁴⁹ Then in 1881 Grainger stood for the Legislative Council. When the central committee of the Farmers Association considered the candidates whom it would endorse, Grainger's name was the first to be struck off because "he had closely identified with the labouring classes against employers and was a strong protectionist".⁵⁰ The farmers stood together with the city merchants in defence of free trade.

Notwithstanding the strength of support for free trade, the tariff was increased in 1870, 1885 and 1887.⁵¹ In each of these years the colony's economy was depressed. Because men were out of work the Adelaide working classes took up protection in the hope that it would create more jobs. At the general elections of 1868, 1870 and 1887 they made protection one of the chief issues. In the earlier elections the agitation was conducted by ephemeral reform associations and electoral committees, which sent a small group of strong protectionists into the House. In the 1887 elections the Trades and Labour Council, exerting its influence for the first time, led the campaign for protection, which was one of the chief points in its platform. It endorsed nine candidates for the metropolitan electorates, of whom six were successful.⁵² However, the general pressure of the campaign was such that of the fourteen men elected for the Adelaide seats, only one had declared for free trade.⁵³

At the same time as workers turned to protection, governments found that depression had depleted the funds flowing into the treasury.

The governments which proposed the increases in the tariff did so chiefly to raise revenue and only incidentally to attract the support of the genuine protectionists in the House. Their proposals were accepted because enough of the free traders chose to accept higher duties rather than face the alternative, the imposition or the increase of direct taxation on land and income. That this group, and not the representatives of the workingmen, determined the course of events is made clear by the treatment of Playford's tariff proposals in 1887. Following the platform of the Trades and Labour Council, he not only proposed to raise duties on goods which could be manufactured in the colony, but also to remove the duties on tea, coffee and sugar to give the workingman a "free breakfast table". The House accepted the higher tariffs, but rejected the free breakfast table because it feared that the loss to the revenue would be too great.⁵⁴ The Legislative Council, where merchants, squatters and bankers were well represented, agreed to the 1887 tariff, as it had to earlier increases, without demur.⁵⁵

Not all the free traders were prepared to abandon their principles. In 1870 the increase in duties was slight, so free traders felt they had conceded little to the protectionists. However, in the eighties the two increases within three years gave South Australia a very high tariff and caused dissension within the free trade camp. When the new tariff was under discussion in 1885 a special general meeting of the Chamber of Commerce was called to consider it. Most

members were prepared to accept the increases and direct their efforts to securing minor amendments in the schedule. In 1887 the executive of the Chamber met and having failed to agree on the policy to be adopted on the new proposals decided to call another special general meeting. Later this decision was reversed because as the president explained, "members are far from unanimous".⁵⁶ So the Chamber of Commerce was silent as South Australia became a protectionist colony.

At their annual conference early in 1885 the Farmers Association, sensing that the tariff was likely to be raised, resolved that any alteration should be in the direction of free trade.⁵⁷ A year later, with the higher duties in force, a proposal to endorse their previous policy was lost and an amendment supporting the revision of the tariff was passed.⁵⁸ The farmers, like the merchants, wanted to avoid increases in direct taxation. At their 1887 conference they again declared for protection. This change of policy sharply divided the Association and helped to weaken it. The leadership had to explain to dissidents that in supporting protection they were not opposing free trade!⁵⁹ The one consolation the farmers had was that their representatives in parliament in 1887 managed to limit the increases in duty on agricultural machinery, one of the items about which the country felt most strongly.⁶⁰

The election of 1887 and the passing of the tariff heralded a new era. Though the protectionists only triumphed because the free traders decided not to fight, victory seemed to have gone to the Trades and Labour Council. Certainly its influence was very marked in

metropolitan electorates, and in the House it produced an impressive, and to some a frightening, block vote for protection.⁶¹ In the future, government by Adelaide men could mean government by the Trades Hall. Previously it had meant the rule of merchants, squatters, agents and lawyers. While these were in the ascendant the country had no quarrel with Adelaide, at least on the question of the tariff.

Land Reform⁶²

At the 1868 general election almost all candidates declared for an alteration in the land law. By January 1869, after several ministries had failed to propose acceptable schemes, the Government of H. B. T. Strangways had the Governor's signature on two bills which amended the method of selling waste lands, and Strangways' name was connected for ever with land reform, which he had consistently opposed hitherto and about which he was increasingly cynical when he no longer sat on the Treasury benches. The strongest argument he had employed in support of his two bills was that they would prevent farmers from seeking more radical measures.⁶³ Under the new Acts⁶⁴ the selling of land at auction was to continue as before, with the exception that the practices by which squatters and agents had excluded the farmer were now offences, and the farmer was allowed to bid at auction and pay the purchase money by deferred payments. The frauds at auction seem to have continued unchecked and very little land was taken up on credit at the auction sales.⁶⁵ The only real concession to the farmer was the reservation of Agricultural Areas in which land

was to be offered only on credit. At first offering the price was fixed at the value of the best land in the Area and it was gradually lowered until it reached £1 per acre or all the land was taken up. Simultaneous applications for the same section were decided by lot. These provisions gave the farmer time to pay, but the cost of land was still much higher than in Victoria or New South Wales. Land was initially offered in the Areas at as much as £3 per acre and interest was charged on all credit agreements.

The last years of the sixties were bad years for farmers. As poor harvests quickened the desire to escape landlords, small farms and exhausted soil, so the disadvantages of the open auction system were felt to be more oppressive. Strangways had changed the law a little, but on the seasons and the mysterious agent which spread the red rust he had had no effect at all. At the time of the next general elections in March-April 1870 the outlook was very bleak. The harvests of 1869 and 1870 had again been poor. Strangways Act had been in operation for a year, but less than 200 credit agreements had been taken out, and few of them by farmers.⁶⁶ That the electorate wanted much more than Strangways had conceded was soon evident. Election meetings in the country called for the cessation of auction sales, the opening of all newly surveyed land for selection at £1 per acre and the abolition of interest on credit agreements. They also wanted the regulations on residence and cultivation tightened so that squatters could not dummy selections. Knowing how radical these demands were, the farmers frequently linked them with a demand for local representation and payment of members.⁶⁷ They sensed that they might need a different

parliament before they could get the land law they wanted. It was certainly not to be expected that the auction of crown lands, which had been a pillar of the economic and political order for so long, should be pulled down without opposition.

As the debate on land reform intensified, some squatters were buying up large sections of their runs at the open auction sales.⁶⁸ The squatter had always lived with the knowledge that his run might be resumed at six months' notice, but he also knew that the auction system gave him the opportunity to get some of it back. Yet the threat that all resumed land should be open first to selection by the bona-fide farmer was not met by concerted opposition from the squatters. Their lack of interest at this time cannot be attributed to any inability in political organisation because in the sixties there had been a strong Pastoralists Association and a group of squatters operating effectively in the House of Assembly. In fact, their success in the sixties was one reason for their comparative indifference in the seventies.)

The Pastoralists Association was formed to oppose the imposition of higher rentals on pastoral leases that followed a revaluation of the runs by Surveyor General Goyder.⁶⁹ The original leases issued in 1851 were for fourteen years, but an Act of 1858, which levied a tax on stock carried on the runs, guaranteed to the squatter as a quidpro quo a five year extension of his lease, at a rental to be fixed following a revaluation. The original terms relating to improvements were to apply: they were to be paid for by the crown if the

run were resumed during the currency of the lease, and they were to revert to the crown without compensation at its expiration, which was now fixed at 1870. It was the revaluation conducted in 1864, under the terms of the 1858 Act, which drove the squatters into their Association and concerted political activity. While the squatters averred their inability to pay higher rentals, the popular demand was that Goyder's new valuations be upheld. At the 1865 general election the popular view prevailed. However, events soon made that decision largely irrelevant. The drought of the mid-sixties devastated the northern pastoral lands and made a mockery of Goyder's valuations. The parliament returned with the simple task of upholding the valuations had to grant temporary concessions to the squatters and finally a new pastoral Act to encourage the re-establishment of the industry. Within this more fluid situation, the Association and its representatives in parliament could work to more effect. In the Act of 1867 the squatters gained more than they could ever have hoped for in 1865 when the public was in full cry against them.

The 1867 Act extended the original leases on the better pastoral land for 14 years. Further out, where the greater proportion of the runs lay, the extension was for 21 years. The full value of improvements was to be paid if the lease were resumed during the first half of its term and one half during the third quarter. Nothing was to be paid thereafter, except some compensation for permanent wells at the lease's expiry. Two years later this was extended to full

compensation for all dams, wells and reservoirs. The Act was not to apply to runs in the better watered areas of the South East, Yorke Peninsula and the lower North. In the north Goyder's Line marked the boundary between the areas where the Act was and was not to apply. Goyder had drawn the Line in 1865 to mark the southern boundary of the pastoral lands badly affected by drought.⁷⁰

(To the majority of squatters who held leases under the 1867 Act the question of land reform was of little moment. In 1870 they, like everyone else, did not imagine that the farmers would ever advance into their domain. Even if all the northern lessees could have foreseen that within ten years surveyors would be at work cutting up the land into farming blocks well beyond Goyder's Line, it is doubtful whether they would have been disposed to resuscitate their Association. They were assured of some compensation for improvements and they would not have been very interested in having the opportunity to bid and pay cash for land where rainfall was light and uncertain.)

The squatters in the well watered regions excluded from the provisions of the 1867 Act were threatened far more by proposals to abolish auction sales and give farmers the first choice of all resumed land.⁷¹ Yet many of these lessees in the South East could still confidently expect that farmers would not be interested in their land, which was watered too well and from which transport costs were high. The one group of squatters specifically threatened was the relatively

small number of lessees holding land on Yorke Peninsula and in the lower North, on the edge of existing farming areas. The plight of these few did not touch the squatters as a class. Goyder's valuations had affected them all, but there was no longer any impetus for combination and concerted action. In the late sixties and early seventies when the land question was the predominant political issue there was in each House an average of half a dozen men for whom pastoral activities were an important source of income.⁷² But of these only one or two were lessees of land immediately threatened. The others had the security of either a freehold or a lease under the 1867 Act.⁷³

(The Adelaide commercial and financial community was more numerous represented in parliament than the squatters. These men were not particularly concerned with the terms on which land was leased or resumed, but the way it was dealt with once it was resumed was a matter of great importance. Speculators and investors in crown lands and the banks, which had prospered on financing all the bidders at auction sales, were not anxious to see farmers given exclusive rights to the land and government credit to pay for it. Any squatter wanting to retain some of his land either by bidding at auction or dummying with the minimum of risk had their sympathy and support. They all shared the assumption that capital should have free access to the land.⁷⁴ This was a most substantial obstacle in the way of land reform.)

If the government were to offer all land at a maximum of £1 per acre and allow payments over a long period without interest, the value of freehold land and the level of taxation could be expected to change. Since there would be little demand for old land when virgin soil could be had so cheaply, the value of freehold land could be expected to fall.⁷⁵ The receipts from the sale of lands, which constituted an important part of government revenue, would also decline. Instead of collecting the full price of land sold, for a time the government would be receiving only first instalments. In 1870, when the radical demands for land reform were being made, the Treasury was least able to bear any reduction in revenue because it had suffered, like everything else, from the depressed condition of the agricultural and pastoral industries. Even without any change in the land laws, the need for land and income taxes was being talked of; if the demands for cheap land and cheap credit were met, the prospect of more taxation seemed almost certain.⁷⁶ To tenant farmers and the owners of small, exhausted sections these implications of radical land reform meant little, but they were capable of raising fears in others. In this category there were many who were not squatters, speculators or bankers; and the small farmers were to find that it could include their neighbours who were well established on larger holdings.

Of all this potential opposition to radical change there was almost no sign during the general election campaign of 1870.⁷⁷ Only

one candidate opposed further reform and gained a seat in the House.⁷⁸ A few expressed misgivings, but promised to support reform nonetheless. Strangways and his ministers promised a liberalisation of their original measure, but most candidates offered much more than that. Before the campaigning was half completed the Advertiser reported that "it is now virtually settled that the land system of South Australia must be made at least as liberal as that of Victoria".⁷⁹ The migration of farmers to the east to take advantage of more liberal land laws had been, and was still, one of the most persuasive arguments for reform. Since its passing in 1869 much attention had been directed to the new Victorian law which provided free selection before survey and land at £1 per acre payable in ten yearly instalments of 2/-.⁸⁰ There were only a few candidates advocating the first principle, but many supported these terms of payment. To keep its own population and attract new settlers it seemed that South Australia could scarcely do less. Many candidates promised to equal or outdo Victoria in the liberalising of the land law.

The victory of reform appeared to be confirmed when the new parliament met. Strangways was quickly turned out of office, and a new government, led by John Hart, soon announced that it would bring down a land bill providing for the opening of all land after survey to selection by farmers at £1 per acre and the restriction of sales for cash to lands that had been open for selection for at least a year.⁸¹ To Lavington Glyde, the one member who had opposed reform on the

hustings, it seemed very odd that a ministry in which three of its five members were bank directors should attempt to pass such a bill. He doubted their sincerity.⁸² Indeed, it is difficult to cast Hart as a fervent land reformer as he moves each day after a morning's work at the Treasury to the Bank, to discharge his duties as a director, and then to the Adelaide Club for lunch before reappearing in his public role again at two o'clock as leader of the House of Assembly.⁸³ Yet the Government gave every appearance of being in earnest. A series of resolutions embodying its land policy was passed by the Assembly and the government pressed on with its Bill. Some time later, when the Bill was encompassed about with a crowd of amendments, Hart noted with some satisfaction in his diary, "Cabinet at 11.30 discussed several matters among others the land bill. It is now clear that what I said would be the case is coming true: the more liberal we made the bill at first, the more conservative it will become".⁸⁴ The Government plainly was not bent on reform. Were there any in the House who were?

(Seven members⁸⁵ can be classified as committed land reformers, though the issue was confused by so many declaring that "we are all land reformers now". Reform was supported by many old members newly, and in some cases, reluctantly converted. There were also some new members returned on other issues (notably protection) who supported reform. These seven men were returned first and chiefly as land reformers, and distinguished by the leading part they took in the House

debates on reform. They all sat for country districts. Five of them were local men, whose election reflected the new eagerness for local representation and candidates who would support payment of members. Yet the most able and popular of the land reformers were Ebenezer Ward and Charles Mann, both residents of Adelaide. Ward had worked as a journalist in London and Melbourne, but Adelaide first saw him on the stage of the Old Victoria Theatre. He was a capable actor and he came from Melbourne with a theatrical troupe as a holiday jaunt in 1860. Soon afterwards he moved to Adelaide and was employed by the Advertiser and the Telegraph. He had also married after an elopement, and between newspaper jobs he had gone to the Northern Territory as chief clerk with the first government expedition and been sent home in disgrace.⁸⁶ Charles Mann was more orthodox and respectable. The son of the colony's first Advocate General, he was educated at St. Peter's College, and then followed his father into law.

The land reformers did not act together in politics;⁸⁷ in fact, much of the debate on the Land Bill was taken up with arguments amongst themselves, for each had his own idea of how reform could be best accomplished. Nor were they connected with any extra-parliamentary reform organisation. There was no Farmers Association to succeed the Pastoralists Association when debates on credit for farmers replaced those on the position and plight of the squatters. The consequences of this lack of cohesion and organisation were

immediately apparent when parliament began to debate the 1870 Land Bill.

Apart from the omission of free selection before survey, the government Bill followed the Victorian Land Act of 1869.⁸⁸ As Hart expected, such a bill was more radical than most members, including some of the land reformers, were prepared to support, despite their promises on the hustings. A more moderate bill could have been supported whole heartedly by all the reformers: by embarrassing some of them with an extreme measure, Hart weakened their forces and made it easier for opponents and luke warm supporters of reform to attack the Bill.

Early in the debates on the Bill the land reformers expressed several fears at the prospect of all land being offered at £1 per acre and simultaneous applications being settled by lot. They considered that there would be a dangerous scramble for land, that dummyism would be encouraged, and farmers who only obtained second class land for their £1 per acre would stir up resentment against those who had obtained good sections for the same price. The opponents of reform attempted to unsettle them further by pointing out that reductions in government spending and increased taxation would almost certainly follow the sale of all land at £1 per acre on terms. However, for the moment nearly all the reformers stood firm. Only one, Cheriton, wanted to consider methods of keeping the price of land higher. After its first discussion in committee, the £1 per acre clause was still in the Bill.⁸⁹

As debate on the Bill proceeded three of its leading opponents Glyde, Cavanagh and Strangways spoke at a protest meeting at Salisbury, an agricultural centre twenty miles north of Adelaide. Glyde, who had opposed further reform on the hustings, and Cavanagh, formerly a minister in Strangways' Government, were the absentee members for the district. They had almost certainly arranged the meeting. Strangways went in the guise of a moderate reformer wanting to preserve his Act from radical amendments. They held up to the meeting's gaze the prospect of declining values for older property, increased taxation and reduction in government spending. The meeting responded by protesting at the Hart Government's Bill. The tone of the speeches indicates that the audience were well established farmers in their own land.⁹⁰ Subsequently at Clare a large meeting declared for the Bill,⁹¹ and at meetings in Kapunda the protests of a few large land holders were dismissed and motions supporting the Bill were carried by overwhelming majorities.⁹² Yet these later meetings could not offset the effect of the first. Appeals could still be made to a majority of farmers who wanted radical reform, but in the absence of a clear expression of farming opinion, the decision of one meeting against the Bill assumed an exaggerated importance.

After this series of meetings, discussion on some sections of the Land Bill was reopened. The clause providing for the sale of all land at £1 per acre was struck out by 14 votes to 13.⁹³ The

central principle of the new land order, which seemed so assured when parliament assembled, was now set aside. Three members had changed their minds since the previous discussion, two of whom, Pearce and Playford, were land reformers. Pearce was a large storekeeper in Kapunda. He had attended the two meetings there which had endorsed the Bill, yet he gave the opinions expressed at those meetings as the reason for his change of front! Apparently he regarded the minority opinion as the one to guide him. Playford said a higher price would ensure that there was no dangerous scramble for land. Of course Playford, Pearce and Cheriton who voted against the £1 clause were - as was to be expected in a House of unpaid members - men of some substance. They were therefore liable to be affected by the fears which moved the farmers at the Salisbury meeting, as were the other leading men in their districts on whose support they would have relied for their election. These fears may explain why they deserted the cause, or they may have done so in the hope of political advancement. Certainly they broke undertakings clearly given on the hustings.⁹⁴

During the second debate on the £1 clause notice had been given of two amendments to replace it, one providing for the offering of land initially at £2 per acre, and the other at 30/-. When the clause was defeated Bright, one of the reformers, proposed a compromise. Under his scheme all land would be offered at £1, but simultaneous applications would be decided by auction, limited to the

applicants, instead of by lot. The attractiveness of this proposal was that it appeared to concede the demand for cheap land by setting the price at £1, but at the same time the competition it provided for would bring higher prices and guarantee a buoyant land fund. The clause was carried comfortably in the Assembly.⁹⁵ The Legislative Council, which insisted on making most other aspects of the Bill more conservative, felt no need to tamper with this one.⁹⁶

To ensure that only bona-fide farmers took up selections, the government Bill provided that the selector cultivate and reside on his land. There were disagreements about how cultivation should be defined - the opponents of reform in both Houses attempted to make it mean as little as possible - but the major conflict centred on the condition of personal residence. While the reformers wanted to prohibit dummying, they realised that insistence on residence would prevent farmers from adding to their existing holdings by selecting land nearby or going back and forth to work a new selection, to which they would only move when it was well established. Their proposal was to allow a man who was residing on and cultivating a farm of not less than 40 acres to select under the Act without having to reside. As an alternative solution, Strangways and his cohorts wanted residence of a servant or bailiff to be taken as fulfilling the residence condition. This would help the farmer who could place a labourer on his new selection, but it would also allow every squatter, agent and speculator to employ a servant or bailiff and so acquire 640 acres.

The Assembly accepted the reformers' proposal, while the Council insisted on Strangways'.⁹⁷ When all other differences between the two Houses had been resolved, this one remained. Finally the Council said it would not insist on residence by servant if the Assembly would drop its clause relaxing the residence condition for farmers with 40 acres or more. Since this was the last difference to be resolved, the Assembly's reaction to this offer would determine the fate of the Bill. If it insisted on its clause, deadlock would result and the Bill would be laid aside. Realising this, the opponents of reform in the Assembly now supported the clause which they had formerly opposed. With them voted two land reformers, Cheriton and Bright, who considered that without the 40 acre clause the Bill would be of little use to the farmers. Three other reformers, Mann, Pearce and Ward, disagreed and voted to drop the clause and save the Bill. The voting was equal. The Speaker gave his vote for the retention of the clause, which meant deadlock and victory to the opponents of the Bill, which was laid aside after being the chief issue at a general election and the subject of many months of parliamentary discussion.⁹⁸

(Both sides claimed to be the farmers' friends; the one because it had insisted on making it easier for them to obtain land, and the other because it had voted to save the Bill. On both sides there were land reformers.)

The weakness of the farmers' position was now completely apparent. With no clear voice of their own, they were at the mercy

of the politicians. Sporadic meetings of farmers declaring different opinions made it easy for politicians to set aside promises made on the hustings, to confuse the issues, and in the end, to do nothing.

The gap between the expectations aroused at the general election early in 1870 and the result of the parliamentary session which followed was so great that it might be expected that those wanting a new land law would now join together and act decisively. However, there was no overt response at all to the rejection of the Bill, not one protest meeting. The land reformer Ebenezer Ward pondered the reasons for this in the columns of the Gumeracha Guardian, a journal which he had recently begun for the nursing of his electorate. Most farmers, he considered, were disgusted to the point of despair with the treachery of their politicians, and besides they were still too busy gathering and carting the harvest.⁹⁹ The crops were heavy; for the elements, which for so long had been cruel to the farmer, were now kind. During the last critical stages of the debate on the Land Bill members had known that the harvest was to be good. This prospect had no doubt encouraged the opponents of reform in the course they took. Strangways had said that a good harvest more than anything else would settle the land question.¹⁰⁰ And so it seemed. Ward had considered that after harvest a large public meeting might be held in a farming district which could be the beginning of a national movement for reform. Instead, there was for the first time a rush of farmers into the new areas to inspect the land open to selection.¹⁰¹

The Government of John Hart was still in power, having ridden safely into recess after the long parliamentary session. Hart's plan had worked perfectly: ministers had voted at every division on the side of reform without a new bill becoming law. During the recess, however, they blundered badly. In June 1871 Ebenezer Ward launched an attack upon the Government's administration of the existing land law. For this he used the pages of his own journal, now the Guardian published at Clare, and the open columns of the Advertiser. The indictment was that despite promise to facilitate agricultural settlement the ministry had declared only one new Agricultural Area, of small dimensions and inferior soil, while outside the Areas it was offering at auction much larger quantities of good land, which was being bought up by a few pastoralists. The real force of the attack was that it also drew attention to a sin the ministry was about to commit. The Government Gazette had announced the sale by auction of 9,000 acres in the valley of the Rocky River, conveniently close to the Booyoollee head station. This, said Ward, was good agricultural land which should be open for selection by farmers, not handed over to the squatter. He thought concerted action by farmers might stop the sale and his editorial concluded with the plea, "Will no one volunteer in so good a cause?"¹⁰²

Ward was only too willing to offer his own services. As a result of his efforts the Mayor of Clare called a public meeting to consider the land question. Within a few days Ward was denouncing

the Government to an audience of four hundred. The meeting passed resolutions condemning the Government and adopted a petition requesting the Booyoollee lands to be withdrawn from sale. In the next issue of the Guardian Ward published a full report of this meeting and printed extracts from three other country papers and the Advertiser supporting his campaign.¹⁰³

With his reformist reputation thus sullied and questioned, Hart acted promptly because parliament was due to reassemble within a few weeks. The Booyoollee land was withdrawn from sale, a place was made in the cabinet for Charles Mann, the land reformer,¹⁰⁴ and a paragraph inserted in the Governor's speech announcing that all further auction sales would be suspended until a new land bill was passed.¹⁰⁵

A practice established at the foundation of the colony, which had continued unchanged and for the most part unchallenged since then, was abandoned when open auction sales were suspended in mid-1871. Their suspension marks a turning point in the history of land legislation more significant perhaps than the passing of Strangways Act in 1869. That measure had allowed the small man in by offering sale on credit; the suspension of auction sales threw the capitalist out. It is a further indication of Hart's insincerity that he had to be forced into suspending the auction sales. In 1870 he wrote a suspension of sales clause into his Bill, which allowed the Council to amend it by adding the proviso that 100,000

acres could be sold at open auction each year.¹⁰⁶ When the Bill was laid aside, the sales continued as before. Once the ministry was forced to use the discretionary powers it enjoyed as the controller of land sales, it became plain that the opposition of the Council to reform could to some extent be by-passed. Had the farmers and reformers been obliged to persuade the Council to vote for the suspension of auction sales they would have had to work much harder and longer.

In 1871 the Hart Government introduced a land bill similar to that laid aside at the end of the previous session.¹⁰⁷ Again it failed to become law. The Assembly was still discussing it when a political crisis ended all its deliberations. Within four months there were three changes of government and a general election. However, though a new land law had not been enacted, auction sales remained suspended.

(The Government which held office during the 1872 parliamentary session was more moderate and honest in its land policy than Hart's had been: it would only attempt to pass a measure acceptable to the Council. Its Bill abolished the Agricultural Area system and declared all land south of Goyder's Line open to selection once it had been surveyed.¹⁰⁸ This merely sanctioned existing practice; for with the suspension of open auction sales, land was being sold only by credit agreement with farmers.) Thus there was no point in the Council resisting and these provisions became law.¹⁰⁹ The 1872

Act did provide for auction sales, but only of land which had been open to selection by the farmer for at least a year.¹¹⁰

(After a short time farmers were complaining about the restrictions of Goyder's Line. Calls for the abolition of the Line increased as farming on the new northern lands proved successful and the demand for land grew. On this issue all the public meetings and petitions were in agreement. The 1874 Land Act declared that land could be surveyed anywhere in the colony and that it should be offered in the first instance on credit to bona fide farmers.)¹¹¹

The suspension of auction sales in 1871 established Ward as the first among the land reformers. Unlike his fellow politicians, he worked at his politics all year round. The newspapers he owned were run more for his political advancement than for profit; they never served to keep him from his creditors. Regular employment was anathema to him. He enjoyed wine and women, but his chief delight was appearing on public platforms. He was an actor and reciter as well as a land reformer. His lecture on Shakespeare's life with readings from his works was delivered in institutes throughout the country, and at dinners following a ploughing match or a show he would speak on the land question and later render Scott's "Young Lochinvar" or "Othello's Address to the Senate". While a member of parliament, he appeared on stage at the Theatre Royal playing an excellent Man Friday in "Robinson Crusoe". The reputation so acquired was given added spice by his appearances in court to lay or defend charges of

libel.¹¹²

In the four years from 1870 Ward campaigned in the same style which brought him victory in the Booyoollee lands affair. He spoke at public meetings in favour of more liberal land laws, editorials in his papers proclaimed the same message and their news columns carried full reports of his activities. He kept a close scrutiny on the administration of the Crown lands department, which in deciding how and where land was surveyed and when it was offered, could help or hinder the farmer. Questions on these matters were continually being put to the Commissioner of Crown Lands by Ward. In 1874 he again humiliated a ministry by forcing it to withdraw a survey which was unfavourable to the farmers.¹¹³ Throughout the seventies he continued to represent the district of Gumeracha in the Adelaide Hills which had first elected him in 1870. But in his work as an agitator and watchdog he took all the farming lands of the colony as his constituency.

Part cause, part effect of Ward's increasing influence was the expansion of his newspaper activities. The Gumeracha Guardian, first issued in March 1870, did not survive long. Seeking a wider audience, Ward moved north, closer to the new lands where the majority of selections was being made. His headquarters were first at Clare, then Kapunda, and the paper was now called simply the Guardian. At Kapunda in April 1874 Ward printed the first issue of the Farmers Weekly Messenger, a much more ambitious publication, designed to

compete with the two weekly papers the Chronicle and the Observer, published in Adelaide by the Advertiser and the Register. While the Guardian had remained chiefly a local paper, the Messenger, like its well established rivals, was directed to the rural population everywhere. To compete on equal terms, Ward and the Messenger came to Adelaide in July 1874. In most things Ward's papers were replicas of his rivals'. The Messenger, for instance, contained Household and Literary pages, a serial story, and advice to farmers, all to the modern eye, at least, indistinguishable from those published elsewhere. It is in the editorial columns that the difference can be seen. In contrast to the editorials in more respectable journals, Ward's were irreverent, plainspoken and full of invective. They bore his personal mark. The most notorious of his editorials appeared after the Legislative Council rejected Boucaut's Stamp Bill in 1875. The names of the Councillors who had voted against the Bill were enclosed in a thick black frame and the list was headed "Our Gibbet".¹¹⁴ The library committee of the parliament was so offended by the Farmers Messenger, that it discontinued its subscription in September 1875.¹¹⁵ The flouting of the conventional canons brought Ward more readers and helped to establish his notoriety which was such that his speeches and activities were reported as fully in the older newspapers as they were in his own.

Between 1870 and 1874 Ward was commonly regarded as the best representative the farmers had. But though he was closely associated

with the farmers' cause, Ward was not prepared to be merely their mouthpiece. Where his own views were at variance with theirs, he stood by his own.¹¹⁶ In his campaign to halt auction sales he was obviously working for what the farmers wanted. But in the matter of the pricing and allocation of land, Ward and the other reformers appeared to conspire to do the farmers injury.

The failure of the 1870 and 1871 Land Bills meant that the Strangways provisions about the price and allocation of land were still in force in 1872. The government Bill of that year proposed to continue them. Each section would be valued and advertised for that amount; if it were not selected the price would be lowered until it reached £1 per acre or the land was taken; and simultaneous applications would be decided by lot. The land reformers were not satisfied with this. No one now advocated the principle, widely supported at the 1870 election and included in the Hart Government's Bill, of offering all land at £1. The reformers instead pressed for the adoption of the limited auction system which had been agreed on as a compromise by the Assembly in 1870. Bright who had arranged that compromise succeeded in substituting limited auction for lot in the scheme proposed by the Government. In this he was supported by all the land reformers, including Ward. Their chief objection to lot was that it gave the rich man more chance since he could afford to pay the deposits on several applications for the same section. Strangely enough some were also prepared to argue that

limited auction would bring in more revenue. It was this consideration which brought them sufficient supporters in the Assembly to carry the amendment and the Legislative Council viewed it kindly for the same reason.¹¹⁷

Limited auction did not disappoint its supporters. When land was offered under the 1872 Act farmers bid against each other and very high prices were paid for the better land, £5 per acre and more. The average price per acre paid for all land taken up on credit during 1873 was 5/- higher than in 1872, and in 1874 it rose a further 2/-.¹¹⁸ (When parliament reconsidered the land question in 1874 farmers expected to be rescued from the system which the land reformers had sponsored in 1872. They wanted cheaper land.) Both Blyth, the Premier, and Ward, his implacable opponent, admitted that the majority of farmers wanted decision by lot reintroduced. Neither was prepared to accede to their request. Blyth proposed to continue limited auction. In opposition, Ward advocated a system of tender as a means of deciding simultaneous applications. He considered that if farmers had to submit a written tender they would not offer to take land at the high prices they were bidding in the heady atmosphere of the auction room.¹¹⁹ Ramsay, a moderate reformer, was faithful to the farmers and advocated lot. Of all the schemes this had the least support.¹²⁰ Finally a modified scheme of tender was accepted by the Government and agreed to in the Assembly.¹²¹ In the Council it was struck out without demur.¹²² (The Councillors were now attached to limited auction. So

limited auction remained.¹²³

(In securing the cessation of auction sales and the extension of the area open to credit selection, farmers appeared a powerful force, yet they could not affect the conditions under which land was offered for sale on credit. On this issue their parliamentary friends ignored them and voted in accordance with what they conceived to be their best interests. Why could the farmers successfully call for the abolition of Goyder's Line and at the same time be ignored when they asked that limited auction be replaced by lot?)

(The fate of the 1870 Land Bill indicated that parliament would have preferred to do nothing about extending concessions to farmers. Yet it could not be expected to hold out for ever against change. By yielding on the point of granting farmers access to the land, it found that it could to a large extent ignore the demand that it be cheap. In 1870, when scarcely anyone had taken up land, the demand was that all land be sold at £1 and that no interest be charged. As good seasons returned and more land was thrown open this demand was heard no more. Between 1872 and 1874, when the complaints about limited auction were loudest, thousands of acres were being taken up by farmers. After 1874, with Goyder's Line abolished, the land question became far less pressing, even though limited auction remained. The good seasons made it easy for farmers to believe that they could pay the price they had bid when the day for payment of purchase money came. The system of selling land was modified in 1877 and 1879, but

the basic principle remained unchanged: farmers competed against each other for land by offering to pay more for it; they only got it at £1 per acre if no one else wanted it; and every year until purchase was completed they paid interest on the amount of purchase money outstanding.¹²⁴ Parliament gave the farmers the land, but it exacted its price.)

The forces of resistance most effectively represented in parliament lost least from the reform of the land laws in the early seventies. The squatters (for reasons given earlier) had virtually abdicated from the struggle - it was their lands which were occupied. Capitalists who had previously bought land to sell or let to farmers had considerable consolations. In the 1872 Act the vexed problem of the residence condition, on which the 1870 Bill had foundered, was resolved by allowing residence of servant or bailiff, which was the only provision the Legislative Council was prepared to approve. This meant that investors were not wholly excluded from taking up land. Furthermore, farmers still needed to borrow money for improvements and, since they did not acquire the land cheaply, some needed to borrow to meet their commitments to the government.¹²⁵

Commercial men had shared the belief that capital should have free access to the land, but their specific interest was not injured at all by the new land laws. Though these interfered with some ways of making money, they did not affect the buying and shipping of farmers' produce or the sale of groceries and hardware. The

extension of credit selection did not mean the creation of a class of subsistence farmers in the Lawson mould; it was associated rather with the growth of an industry which had long been important to the export trade and Adelaide's prosperity. The Adelaide Chamber of Commerce had supported the squatters when they sought relief from the government, but the membership was not wedded to them. In 1871 the Chamber's annual report affirmed,

there can of course be no doubt that it is better for the community as a whole that land should be used for growing wheat, which may be worth 40/- to 60/- per acre, than in growing sheep, that will not give a revenue of more than 3/- to 5/- per acre.¹²⁶

To many commercial men in parliament in the late sixties the proposal that the state should offer land on credit was heresy; in the early seventies it seemed folly to put any limit to the areas open to selection.

One desire common to all men of property, and hence to almost all members of an unpaid parliament, was to avoid direct taxation. To these men, farmers bidding against each other and committing large amounts to the land fund was a cheering reminder that the radical demand for cheap land had been thwarted. The land reformers, despite their promises in 1870, may themselves have wanted this from the beginning.) But the undesirability of extra taxation was not the argument they employed against proposals for a low uniform price and a system of lot. They feared that these would encourage dummying and corruption to the detriment of the farmer. In this they were probably right.

If the farmers had been truly represented by their friends and their desire for cheap land had been met, they may well have found it more difficult to acquire good land. In this case, their political weakness worked to their advantage and their friends who ignored their wishes may have served them well.)

Between 1868 and 1874 land reform was the chief political issue. It was a matter in which all country districts had a common interest. The general population of Adelaide was not vitally concerned. In South Australia land reform was sponsored to help farmers and their sons, not diggers, artisans or the unemployed. It never had that general appeal which made land reform a popular issue in Sydney and Melbourne in the late fifties and early sixties.¹²⁷ In pressing its demands, the country was responsible for several changes in political life. At the 1870 elections, when the interest in land reform was at its height, the proportion of country residents among the successful candidates rose sharply.¹²⁸ For the first time, payment of members became a real issue. The pressure from the country for this was sufficient to secure the approval of Playford's 1871 resolution.¹²⁹ The desire for reform also produced that unique phenomenon, Ebenezer Ward. The older politicians were dismayed at Ward's new political style. They disapproved of his ceaseless political activities which they termed Agitation. In their eyes it was ungentlemanly to recognise no closed season, and actually to encourage farmers in their demands thus making it more difficult to avoid acting

on them. Men of ability, as Ward undoubtedly was, generally came into prominence by performing well on the floor of the House and by gathering support from other members. Ward relied on this approach - he was an acknowledged master in debate - but more important to his success was the support he enjoyed throughout the country. He made the best use of the opportunities which the state's entry into the field of credit selection offered. Every locality had a different interest in public works, but farmers everywhere were interested in land legislation. Upon this country-wide interest Ward made himself the countryman's representative. The combination of his speeches in the House, his newspapers and his public meetings was the nearest approach to a country political organisation that these years produced.

Many of the farmers' demands challenged the philosophy and threatened the interests of the members of the predominantly metropolitan parliament. The new forces generated by the desire for reform were strong enough to make parliament yield on several important issues, but not strong enough to effect any lasting change on the composition of the parliament. In a series of articles entitled "How South Australia is Governed" Ward noted that when the people were awakened they were powerful, but regretted that

like all sudden movements, such awakenings are but occasional and temporary. When the storm rages the cliques we refer to and all their sycophants bow like the rushes, but they erect themselves again, unscathed and active as of old, when the tempest is stilled.¹³⁰

Ward's rather gloomy view of the effectiveness of the people's voice must be taken in part as an expression of his annoyance that he was not yet on the Treasury Benches. Could the men who had suspended open auction sales at Ward's demand be said to have emerged "unscathed"? Yet one can appreciate Ward's frustration: he could force the old men to yield, but not to abdicate. (The governments which suspended auction sales in 1871, which proposed to extend the area open to selection to Goyder's Line in 1872, and to abolish that Line in 1874, were each led by a bank director and Adelaide Club member.¹³¹ Several of their colleagues were similarly distinguished.)

(As these concessions were made the pressure for change from the country abated. The land reformers forgot without inconvenience the rash promises of 1870 and dropped their land reformer label. The agitation for payment of members, whose introduction could have changed the composition and tone of the House, weakened considerably and did not regain its strength until the mid-eighties. (The proportion of Adelaide men returned for country seats rose.¹³² The extension of the farmers' frontier under the supervision of the state was presided over by a parliament still predominantly metropolitan in its membership.

Ward himself is a fitting symbol of how much politics had changed and how much it had remained the same. Though the chief and most effective campaigner for the farmers' cause, he was an Adelaide journalist, representing a country seat and opposed to the payment of members.¹³³ This was the man in whom so many farmers put their

trust. Against him the cries of local representation and payment of members did not prevail. (The farmers were prepared to rely on what were termed the farmers' friends; they were not yet speaking for themselves.)

After 1874 Ward played a less distinctive role in political life. Following four years of criticising and condemning ministries, he became a minister himself in 1875. Boucaut, the Premier, was not prepared to risk him as Commissioner of Crown Lands, so he took that post himself and gave Ward the minor office of Agriculture and Education.¹³⁴ At the time Ward was still talking of the need for an alternative to limited auction, but the farmers' interest in the matter had now declined. Ward sat on the Treasury Benches for three parliamentary sessions; in 1875 with Boucaut, and in 1876 and 1877 with John Colton. In the first two years land bills were introduced, but not proceeded with. In 1877 the Colton government passed a bill which altered the way farmers competed against each other at auction. Farmers were almost unanimous in condemning the alteration and two years later it was repealed.¹³⁵ The Farmers Messenger continued to appear during these years, still written with the same vigour, but now on the defensive: instead of rallying the farmers, it told them they were quite well off, it recalled Ward's past triumphs to answer his present critics, and the castigation of ministries was replaced by columns written in their defence.

Of all the tasks the Messenger was called upon to perform,

the most difficult was to justify Ward's joining the Colton ministry in 1876, and so accepting as colleagues two of his arch enemies.¹³⁶ Boucaut, too, had been a former enemy of Ward's, but for some time before they came to power they had acted together in opposition, and their combination appeared as a genuine progressive alliance with Boucaut's boldness on public works matching Ward's radicalism on land reform. In March 1876 when Boucaut reorganised his ministry to accommodate the leading men of the Opposition, Ward was relieved of his portfolio. He was furious at Boucaut's treachery and bent all his energies to revenge.¹³⁷ When parliament reassembled in May, Boucaut's new Government was defeated and Colton took office. Ward returned to his old portfolio of Minister of Agriculture and Education. Also in the ministry were Robert Ross, with whom Ward had clashed bitterly in the past, and Sir Henry Ayers, member of the Legislative Council, seven times premier and commonly regarded as the real premier of this ministry, and doyen of the Adelaide financiers. Eight months previously he had had the distinction of being one of the Legislative Councillors whose names Ward had printed in the Messenger under the banner of "Our Gibbet" because he had opposed Boucaut's Stamp Bill.

Changing friends and sides in politics was common practice, but Ward had billed himself as the forerunner of a new order. He broke the gentlemanly code and heaped abuse upon the opponents of land reform; he denounced the cliques, the bankers and the clubmen. Yet he did not seek nor did the farmers provide any new political organisation to form the basis of the new order. Unless he was prepared

to remain on the back benches, he was doomed to become a part of all he denounced. But Ward's poverty made the Treasury Benches more than usually alluring. So the great reformer of the early seventies led a quieter life during the second half of the decade, devoting his energies to the familiar game of the ins and outs. The reform of the land laws, on which he had made his reputation, was no longer the chief political issue. The electorate and the parliament were now more concerned with public works. In the seventies, at least, these were a much less disruptive issue than land reform had been.

Public Works

Public Works were matters of perennial interest to the country electorate and its representatives. However, it would be wrong to assume that parliament was merely a market place where each member traded his vote in return for the spending of public money in his district. Certainly if governments were lax in supplying such minor undertakings as schools and post offices, the responsibility of securing them fell, then as now, upon the member for the district. Publicly he asked questions in the House and introduced depositions of local residents to the minister in his office. Privately, no doubt, members put forward the local wants of their district when motions of no-confidence and new ministries were being talked of. However, in the authorisation of such major works as railways and harbours the members for the district were frequently unimportant. In the early seventies railway development was concentrated on the building of

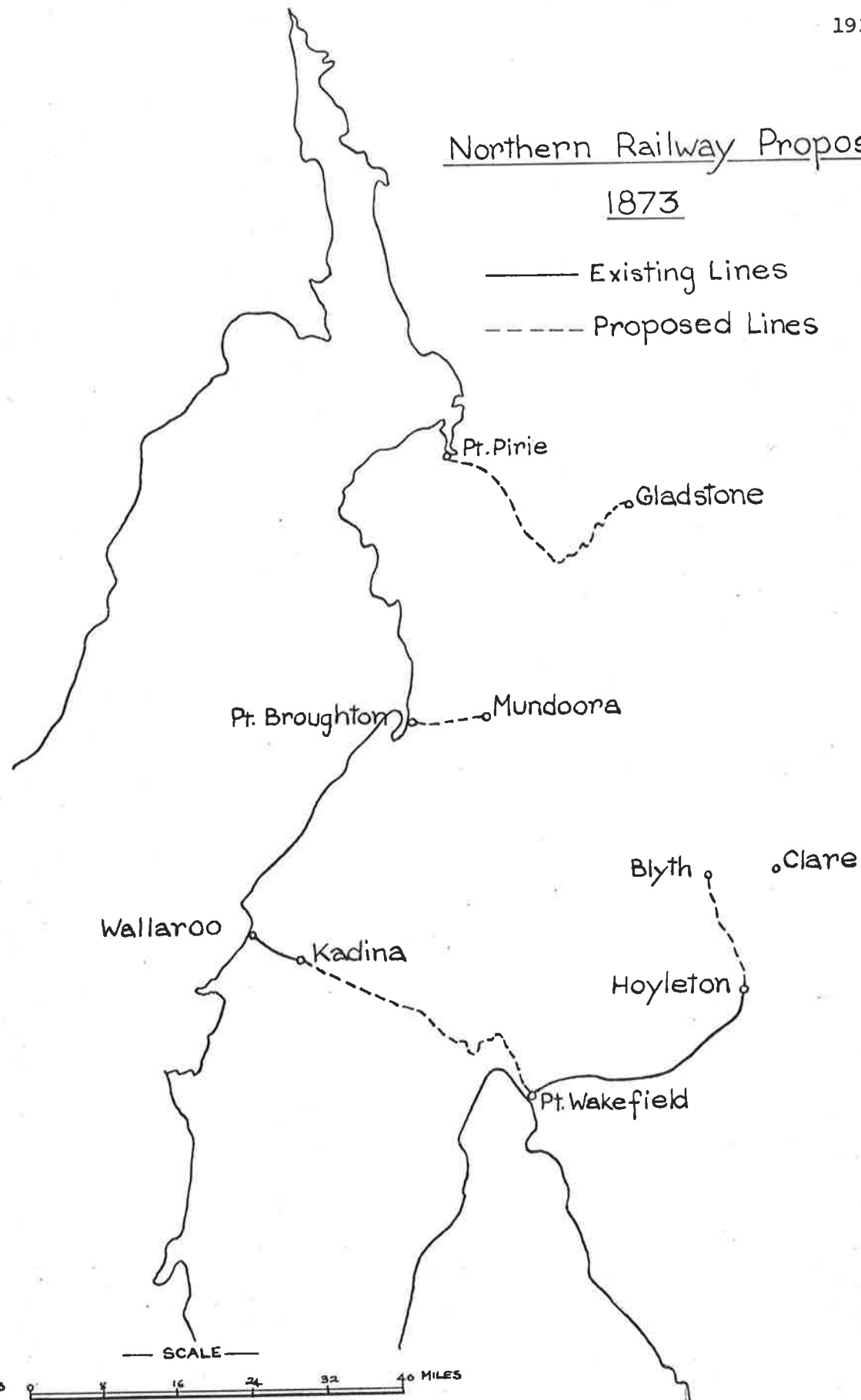
lines to the outports. Even some of these lines owed nothing to the activities of the members for the district.

To serve the farmers in the new northern agricultural districts the Government proposed in 1873 to build three short lines of railway running inland from Spencer's Gulf.* One of these was to begin at Port Broughton. The Port Broughton Railway Bill was passed readily, but just prior to its third reading in the Assembly some members urged the Government to re-examine its proposal because they maintained that the line should take a different course on its route inland. J. J. Duncan said that he had received a letter, written at the request of a public meeting held in the locality, asking the House to delay the Bill until a memorial outlining the inadequacies of the proposed route could be sent down. Duncan pointed out that the letter should not have been sent to him - his correspondent "incorrectly imagined that he and his colleagues represented the district" - but he supported the plea for delay nonetheless. Within a few minutes Duncan's colleague Hughes announced that since "his hon. colleague had spoken he was almost ashamed to say they had found that the country through which this line would pass was in their district". He too then joined those urging delay. These demands notwithstanding, the Government continued with the Bill and the House passed the third reading without delay.¹³⁸

* See Map p.193.

Northern Railway Proposals, 1873

— Existing Lines
- - - Proposed Lines



Hughes and Duncan did have some excuse for their ignorance. They were in the anomalous position of representing the large mining towns on Yorke Peninsula while being known officially as the members for Port Adelaide. The linking of Yorke Peninsula to the electoral district of Port Adelaide had occurred in the early days when the Peninsula had no towns and only a few hundred inhabitants employed on sheep runs. However, after the most recent rearrangement of boundaries in 1861 Moonta, Kadina and Wallaroo had come into existence so that by 1873 the members for Port Adelaide had more constituents on the Peninsula than at the Port.¹³⁹ With such a large and varied electorate they could be excused for not knowing that the new settlers at Port Broughton were just inside the northern boundary of the Yorke Peninsula portion of their domain. The fact remains that the Port Broughton Railway Bill was drawn up, introduced, debated and was almost passed before the members for the district knew that it ran through their electorate.

When the farmers first moved into the new northern areas in 1869 and 1870 Port Broughton and Port Pirie were as nature left them, shallow inlets of the sea, which would require considerable expenditure before they were ports in anything but name. A few squatters had shipped wool at Port Pirie whose one permanent resident was the caretaker of a small wool store.¹⁴⁰ Port Broughton was named and received its first residents only after the farmers had arrived.¹⁴¹ However, at Wallaroo further south on Spencer's Gulf there was a

good natural harbour which served the copper mines, and a large body of local business men anxious that the wheat from the new areas should be shipped at Wallaroo, and not at the ports in the north. In 1871 one of the members for Wallaroo (who was, as we have seen, also a member for Port Adelaide, which was his official title) moved a motion requesting the Government to obtain plans and estimates for a railway from Wallaroo to the new agricultural districts. The Commissioner of Public Works suggested that other ports further north might be more suitable as outlets for the new areas, but he announced that the Government was prepared to support the motion if it were amended to read preliminary plans. The mover agreed, and the motion passed in this form.¹⁴²

Back at his desk, however, the Commissioner ignored the specific terms of the resolution and asked the Surveyor General to report on the best routes to either Wallaroo, Broughton, or Pirie. Goyder assigned his deputy to the task. After inspecting the country, he reported that the settlers would be best served by a railway to Port Pirie or Port Broughton. He ruled out the possibility of a line from Wallaroo because it would be considerably longer, and would pass through poorer country. Nonetheless, he considered Wallaroo the best harbour, and he envisaged wheat being sent first to Pirie or Broughton and then taken by coaster to Wallaroo for shipment overseas. Before the Government had made up its mind how to act on this report it was defeated. At one stage it had decided to lay the report on the table

of the House, but had changed its mind on realising that the report was not what the Assembly had asked for, since it referred to ports other than Wallaroo and contained no estimate of costs.¹⁴³ The report only reached members' hands when the Commissioner who had authorised it moved as a private member that it be presented to the House.¹⁴⁴

So early in 1872 Wallaroo saw the results of their members' efforts: a strong recommendation from a government officer against a railway from Wallaroo to the new districts. Undeterred, the members now turned to another tack. A railway already ran inland from Port Wakefield, and they considered that if it were extended across the Peninsula to Wallaroo at least some of the wheat from the new lands would be attracted to the large local market at the mines and by the harbour at Wallaroo, which was much superior to Port Wakefield. The line would also accommodate the traffic between Adelaide and the mining towns. Not wanting to demand too much, the members merely asked the House to affirm that a railway or a road should be built between Wallaroo and Port Wakefield. To this the House was prepared to agree.¹⁴⁵

Meanwhile none of the four governments which had followed each other in quick succession since the report of the deputy Surveyor General was completed had done anything towards implementing its suggestions. In February 1872 Goyder reminded the Government of his deputy's report. He suggested that if it had any intention of

making a thorough survey of the recommended routes it should act quickly because the land in the area was being taken up rapidly. He explained that without a proper survey he could not know which land to reserve for railway purposes. His recommendations finally reached cabinet where they were noted simply as "seen".¹⁴⁶ The same Government was in power when he made a similar recommendation in July. He said that on a recent trip to the north he had definitely decided that railways and not roads, should be constructed to serve these areas. He again urged the Government to begin surveys immediately so that land would not have to be repurchased for a railway, nor money wasted on roads which a railway would make superfluous. On this occasion the Government responded. The cabinet endorsed Goyder's views and decided to ask parliament to vote money for thorough surveys to be undertaken.¹⁴⁷ When these decisions were taken none of the settlers in the new areas had been so bold as to ask for a railway to Pirie or Broughton. The petitions which they had sent in requested modest improvements at the two ports and on the road leading to Port Pirie.¹⁴⁸ The Government had put some money on the estimates for the improvement of the road, an expenditure which Goyder did not wish to see increased.

The Commissioner of Public Works asked the House of Assembly to vote money for the surveys one month after the member for Wallaroo had been successful in passing their resolution for a railway or a road between Wallaroo and Port Wakefield. They were a little dismayed

to see the Government pressing on with surveys to Wallaroo's rivals, but they were assured that their line would be surveyed while the surveyors were in the north working on lines to Ports Broughton and Pirie. The necessary funds were voted and the surveyors departed in September.¹⁴⁹

The 1873 session of parliament opened in July. A new Government reported that surveys were complete for railways to serve the new northern areas and for the line between Wallaroo and Port Wakefield.¹⁵⁰ More petitions arrived for the new session. After a much larger harvest in the new lands, and no doubt encouraged by the sight of the surveyors at work, the settlers were now requesting a railway to Port Pirie.¹⁵¹ Some settlers were closer to Port Broughton, but no petition appeared for a railway to that place. Apparently they considered they would be adequately served by a line to Pirie.¹⁵² Six weeks after the session began the Commissioner of Public Works announced that the Government would ask the House to authorise four new railway lines: two short lines inland from Ports Pirie and Broughton, the Wallaroo-Port Wakefield line, and an extension of the existing Port Wakefield line from Hoyleton to Blyth.¹⁵³ Bills for all these lines were passed during the 1873 session.

The members for Wallaroo could at least be thankful that they had not been overlooked, though the rivals to Wallaroo in the north had both been provided with a railway. In fact the Wallaroo - Port Wakefield line was not completed until two years after the others

and it did little towards bringing more wheat to Wallaroo. But for the moment, anyway, the members were satisfied. They had worked hard for the interests of the district.

Yet the two lines to Pirie and Broughton were built because civil servants and then governments decided that these were the best way of providing transport for the new settlers. Settlers in the new areas and at the new ports had no parliamentary representatives bound to look after their interests. So recent was the settlement that there was not one polling place in these districts when the parliament which subsequently passed the Pirie and Broughton railway Bills was elected in 1871.¹⁵⁴ Until 1875 Port Pirie and its hinterland were part of the huge electoral district of Flinders which encompassed all the western and northern portion of the colony outside the closely settled areas, and Port Broughton was represented by the members for Port Adelaide. During 1872 one of the members for Flinders did present petitions from the settlers and urged that their requests for improvements on the Pirie road and at the port be met,¹⁵⁵ but neither of the members for Port Adelaide realised that Port Broughton was in his electorate until the Port Broughton Railway Bill was on the point of being passed.

The authorisation of these four lines clearly established a new pattern of railway development in the north. This had been foreshadowed by the Port Wakefield-Hoyleton line, authorised in 1870. By the extension of that line to Blyth in the north and Wallaroo in

the west, and the construction of the lines from Pirie and Broughton the outports were confirmed as the termini of the new railways. The focus of the railway system upon Adelaide was ended. When railway development had been considered in the sixties, it had generally been assumed that the existing lines would be extended so that the northern areas would be directly connected to the capital.¹⁵⁶ At this stage it was thought that the northern railways would be carrying wool, cattle and perhaps minerals. However, once farming was established in the north it was more economical to build railways to the nearest port so that the "heavy" product wheat could reach its markets with a minimum of land carriage.

But governments and parliaments do not necessarily do what is most economical. In this case pressure was exerted upon the Government by the members for Wallaroo and its own civil servants. And the predominantly metropolitan parliament accepted these four railway bills almost without criticism because it was confident that the new outports represented no threat to Adelaide's commercial supremacy. Since the Adelaide commercial and financial community was interested in trade and land throughout the colony, it was generally prepared to support all railway development, no matter whether the railway connected directly to Adelaide or not. The new outports had local advocates, but they were powerfully supported by absentee Adelaide landowners and Adelaide merchants who were operating or expecting to operate in the area. This is made most plain in the case of the Kingston

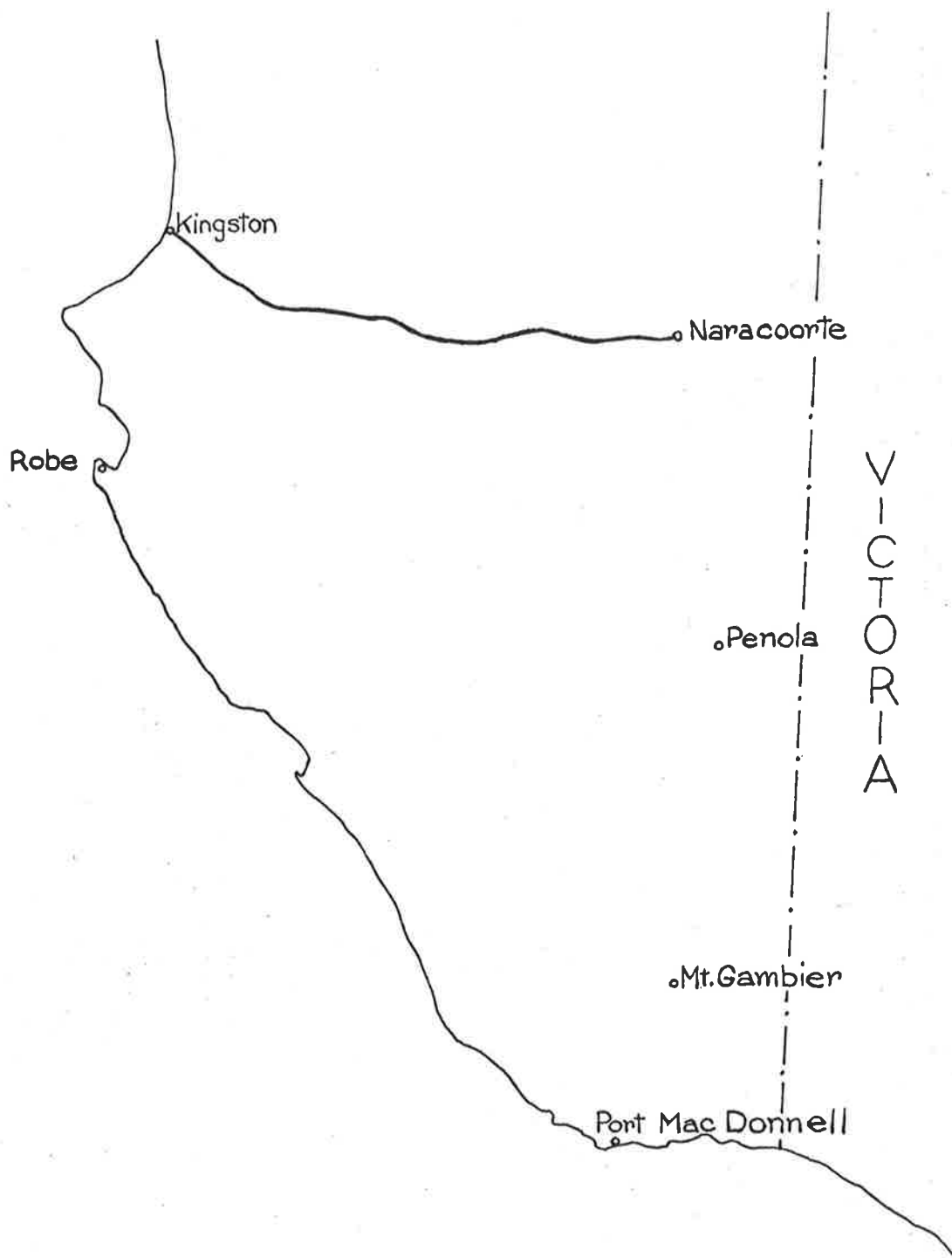
to Naracoorte railway, the first of the two South Eastern railways built during the seventies.

The Assembly passed the Kingston to Naracoorte Railway Bill in 1871 against the determined opposition of the members for the district. At this time the whole of the South East formed one electorate. Most of the population lived in the southern portion, which would not be served by the proposed railway.* The Government and the supporters of the Bill maintained that the railway was needed to give the selectors near Naracoorte easy access to the sea. The residents of the south were opposed to it because this, the first railway granted to the South East, seemed destined to take trade west to a new port at Kingston which would otherwise have gone south along the road which linked Naracoorte, Penola and Mount Gambier with the long established Port MacDonnell. The members for the district naturally followed the dictates of the majority of their constituents and opposed the Bill, but to no avail.¹⁵⁷

At the general elections held a few months later the pastoralist George Riddoch was returned for the South Eastern electorate pledged to reverse the parliament's decision on the Naracoorte railway. After eighteen months he resigned his seat, declaring that it was impossible to obtain justice for the southern part of the district.

* See Map p.202.

THE KINGSTON - NARACOORTE RAILWAY, AUTHORISED 1871



— SCALE —

0 8 16 24 32 40 MILES

He told his electors that the Speaker of the Assembly, who had hindered him in the re-opening of discussion on the line,¹⁵⁸ owned township land at Kingston and was the agent for the absentee owners of land in the district; that E. T. Smith, the brewer, was one of the keenest parliamentary supporters of the line and the owner of the "Kingston Arms"; that Clarke, a part proprietor of the Register, which had supported the Bill, also owned land at Kingston; and that the scheme had been instigated to benefit the Adelaide speculators who held land in Naracoorta.¹⁵⁹ Clarke subsequently denied that he held any land in the area.¹⁶⁰ Sir George Kingston, Speaker of the House of Assembly, could scarcely deny his interest in the town which bore his name and which he had laid out¹⁶¹ and Adelaide speculators had certainly been the most prominent buyers at the auction of the government town of Naracoorte.¹⁶² Furthermore, Adelaide merchants favoured a railway from Kingston rather than from Port MacDonnell because they thought they would have a better chance of competing with Melbourne for the South East trade at Kingston, which was closer to Adelaide.¹⁶³ But whatever Adelaide's interest in the Kingston to Naracoorte line, Riddoch could not argue away the desire of the Naracoorte settlers to be connected to the sea - and they wanted a line to Kingston rather than to Port MacDonnell.¹⁶⁴ As in many other instances, Adelaide men and country settlers had the same interests. In this case some country people were left dissatisfied,*

*The dissatisfaction continued until 1876 when a railway from Mount Gambier to Beachport was authorised.

but on other occasions the harmony was complete.

In 1874 a group of Adelaide merchants, squatters, stock salesman and the manager of the English and Australian Copper Company met and formed themselves into a Railway Extension League.¹⁶⁵ The first line which they decided to press for was one from Port Augusta northwards. For the squatters and stock salesmen this line through the northern pastoral country would be a great boon, but it was of particular importance to Cooke, manager of the Copper Company, who at the meeting proposed its adoption as part of the League's policy. The Copper Company owned works at Port Adelaide where it smelted copper taken from various smaller mines in the colony.¹⁶⁶ At this time the company, along with many directors and investors, was looking expectantly to the Flinders Ranges, where some mines were producing and more were considered promising. The great obstacle to the development of mining there was the long distance the ore had to be carted to the sea.¹⁶⁷ A railway north from Port Augusta would reduce transport costs and make mining more remunerative. Cooke thought the matter important enough to offer himself as a candidate for the district of Flinders (which included Port Augusta and much of the outback country) at the general election in 1875. He left his villa on South Terrace and went by coastal steamer to Port Augusta to address the electors. His statement of policy unashamedly began with an outline of all the benefits a railway north from Port Augusta would bring.¹⁶⁸ The electors found it easy to agree on this point and

they returned him at the head of the poll. In the following year he had the satisfaction of speaking in support of the Port Augusta Railway Bill. Cooke hoped for great things from the northern mines: he had bought a wharf frontage at Port Augusta for his company and a large block of land which could be used for smelters if ever they should be required.¹⁶⁹

Adelaide's interest in wool and copper in Port Augusta's hinterland was long established. The trade in wheat at the Spencer's Gulf ports was new, but very quickly there was a strong Adelaide lobby to protect and foster it. While the first section of railway inland from Port Pirie was still under construction, nineteen gentlemen waited on the Commissioner of Public Works with a request concerning the route the line should take through the town to the wharves. No member of the deputation lived at Port Pirie. The group was composed of wharfowners, wheat merchants, the largest speculator in Port Pirie land, and others whose interest in the port cannot be so readily determined. All were residents of Adelaide, except for three from the old agricultural districts nearby. Eight were members of parliament, four from each House.¹⁷⁰ Five years later, just prior to the completion of the last section of the Port Pirie line which was finally to reach 70 miles into the northern wheat belt, five Adelaide wheat merchants requested the Commissioner to provide more sheds on the Port Pirie wharf to accommodate the growing trade there. One of the deputation was a member of the Council,

and three were in the Assembly, representing districts other than Port Pirie.¹⁷¹ The local inhabitants appreciated the value of having men in parliament interested in the town since they were reliant on parliamentary approval for the extension of the railway and the improvements of the port. Bunting flew in the main street when William Magery, who led this deputation, was returned for the metropolitan seat of West Torrens in 1878.¹⁷² Port Pirie had acquired another member.

The only group which were at all threatened by the growth of trade at the new outports were the wharfowners at Port Adelaide. Yet they were not roused to opposition because the trade at the new ports was chiefly new business so they did not suffer any setback, and the import trade was still concentrated at Port Adelaide. The growth in the import trade led in turn to an increase in the coastal trade as goods were unloaded at Port Adelaide and subsequently shipped to the outports. Port Adelaide would have grown more rapidly had all the new trade crossed its wharves, but the wharfowners were all agreed that during the seventies when the trade at the outports had increased so rapidly the value of their investments had not declined.¹⁷³

After railways had been constructed from the outports inland, the parliament authorised three lines which linked the various networks together,* and so connected Adelaide to almost every line in

* See Map III, Vol.2.

the colony.¹⁷⁴ The construction of these lines has been regarded by previous writers as contributing in large measure to the centralisation of South Australia upon its capital.¹⁷⁵ Yet clearly the colony was already centralised upon Adelaide. Before these lines were built country people received most of their general merchandise from Adelaide, and travelled there for business and pleasure; afterwards wheat and wool still went by rail to the outports where they were generally shipped by Adelaide firms.¹⁷⁶ Adelaide interests had pressed for only one of these connecting lines; the other two were supported with more enthusiasm in the country than in the city.

The first connecting link to be completed was a short line between Hamley Bridge on the main north line and Balaklava on the line inland from Port Wakefield. This was built to satisfy the demands of the mining towns on Yorke Peninsula for better communication with Adelaide. The line would enable light goods, fruit and vegetables to be sent more quickly from Adelaide, and would give passengers a faster and more comfortable journey. At first the mining towns had advocated a line south down the Peninsula to the new agricultural district and then across to a port on St. Vincent's Gulf where only a short sea journey would remain to Adelaide. A local railway committee was formed early in 1875, which among other things appointed a deputation to wait on Adelaide merchants to secure their support for the line.¹⁷⁷ There was no particular reason why they should have been interested since they were already supplying

the Peninsula with goods by sea. However, the local committee did not have to rely on the persuasive powers of their deputation.

When Boucaut came to power later in the year he included the Hamley Bridge-Balaklava line in his railway policy, so the mining towns dropped their scheme and settled for this alternative. Colton's Government introduced a bill for this line in 1876, but the Upper House threw it out, the Councillors regarding it as unnecessary and extravagant.¹⁷⁸ In the following year the Bill was introduced again and the Council now withdrew its opposition, which could be as capricious on some matters as it was determined on others, and allowed the Bill to pass.¹⁷⁹

In 1878 the Government planned to join together the main broad gauge line north from Adelaide and the narrow gauge lines running inland from Port Pirie and Port Augusta. From the broad gauge terminus at Terowie a narrow gauge line was to run northwards to Quorn on the Port Augusta line and intersect the line from Port Pirie at section 216, Hundred of Yongala, which was later the site of the railway town of Peterborough. This gave the squatters what they had long hoped for: the means to shift stock quickly from the northern pastoral country to the Adelaide market, or to the better-watered country in the south in case of severe drought. Four years previously, at the meeting of the Railway Extension League in Adelaide, squatters and stock salesmen had supported a resolution moved by Peter Waite, Elder's manager and partner, that the League

should press for a line to connect the northern pastoral country with the city.¹⁸⁰ By 1878 the farmers were moving out onto the land north of Terowie, so the Government planned the line to serve them as well as to provide a connection between north and south. The narrow gauge line would take their wheat either to Port Pirie or Port Augusta.¹⁸¹ So the needs of the squatters were harmonised with those of the local farmers. The connection of the northern lines also provided a daily passenger service between all the northern agricultural districts and the city. The only objection to this connection came from those who lived to the west of the main line in the districts nearer the coast. They would have preferred a more direct route to the city.¹⁸² As it was, residents of Port Pirie and Gladstone had to go first to Peterborough where they were further from their destination than before they set out.

The last and longest of the connections to be completed was an extension of the broad gauge line from Nairne in the Adelaide Hills across the Ninety-mile desert to the Victorian border where it met the broad gauge line from Melbourne. The Government of 1882 introduced the Intercolonial Railway Bill partly to maintain a large programme of public works, which was by then almost an end in itself, and to provide for the carriage of passengers and mails between the two capitals. Doctrinaire federalists had long advocated a connection with the east, and to those only interested in material gain they pointed out that with a railway to Melbourne and Sydney,

Adelaide would become the Brindisi of the Australian colonies: a terminus port where passengers and mails would leave the steamships to complete their journey more quickly by rail.¹⁸³ The inhabitants of the South East welcomed the proposal because, with the addition of a short line between Naracoorte and Mount Gambier, the intercolonial line would connect all the railway stations in the South East with Adelaide. They wanted a smoother and faster journey to the city than coach or coastal steamer provided. One of the local men pressing for the connection with Adelaide hoped that Adelaide merchants would help them to acquire this line.¹⁸⁴ But the Adelaide Chamber of Commerce, at a special meeting called to consider the question, passed a resolution opposing the construction of the line. The small attendance at the meeting is probably an indication that most merchants were indifferent to the matter. However, those who were present were afraid that a connection with Melbourne would enable Victorian merchants to compete in Adelaide. The proposer of the resolution considered that the railway would also enable Melbourne to do more business in the South East and not, as some thought, give Adelaide a larger share in the trade.¹⁸⁵ These fears were echoed by some members in the parliamentary debate, and others doubted the wisdom of building a line through a desert, yet the Bill passed, though with narrow majorities in both Houses.¹⁸⁶

Adelaide merchants had no reason to be particularly interested in these connecting lines. The importers and wholesalers already supplied the whole colony by other means; the merchants trading in

wheat and wool had either managers or agents in the outports to which those commodities would continue to be sent. Only the squatters and the stock agents were anxious to secure direct rail communication with the capital and that only in the line from the north. Overall, Adelaide interests had been far more concerned with lines to the outports than with these connecting links. For country people the lines to the outports were important for the carriage of their produce, but they did not satisfy all their needs. They also wanted to be able to travel to the city quickly and comfortably and to receive goods from the city with greater dispatch. The centralisation of the railways was not imposed upon them: they welcomed it.

Despite the community of interest between Adelaide and the country, few railway lines were authorised without a great deal of squabbling over which outports should be served or what routes lines should take. To country shopkeepers and tradesmen the precise routes of railways were of vital importance. To be by-passed even by a few miles could mean that their town would cease to grow. Public works proposals invariably created conflict within or between electorates. Public meetings, petitions and deputations put conflicting pressures on the members of parliament. Members themselves could of course have conflicting personal interests in regard to a proposed railway or harbour. But the predominance of

Adelaide men in the parliament made this a less likely source of conflict. As opposed to the particularism of the country storekeepers, their interests tended to be widespread. When Darling, the wheat merchant, was accused of supporting a railway inland from Port Broughton because he did business there, his defence was to accept this charge and to invite his accuser to name a port where he did not do business!¹⁸⁷ During a debate on the route of a railway to the Murray, Sir Henry Ayers explained why he was impartial on the question. "He could fairly say that his interests were so diffused over all parts of South Australia that it was a matter of indifference to him which route might be adopted".¹⁸⁸ If members had no interest themselves, they were part of a community whose business was with the whole colony. Though subject to local pressures, a predominantly metropolitan parliament was probably less swayed by them than a parliament of local men - that great desideratum of the payment of members campaigners - would have been. A predominantly metropolitan parliament approached the ideal of the more orthodox - an assembly composed of men with the interest of the whole colony at heart.

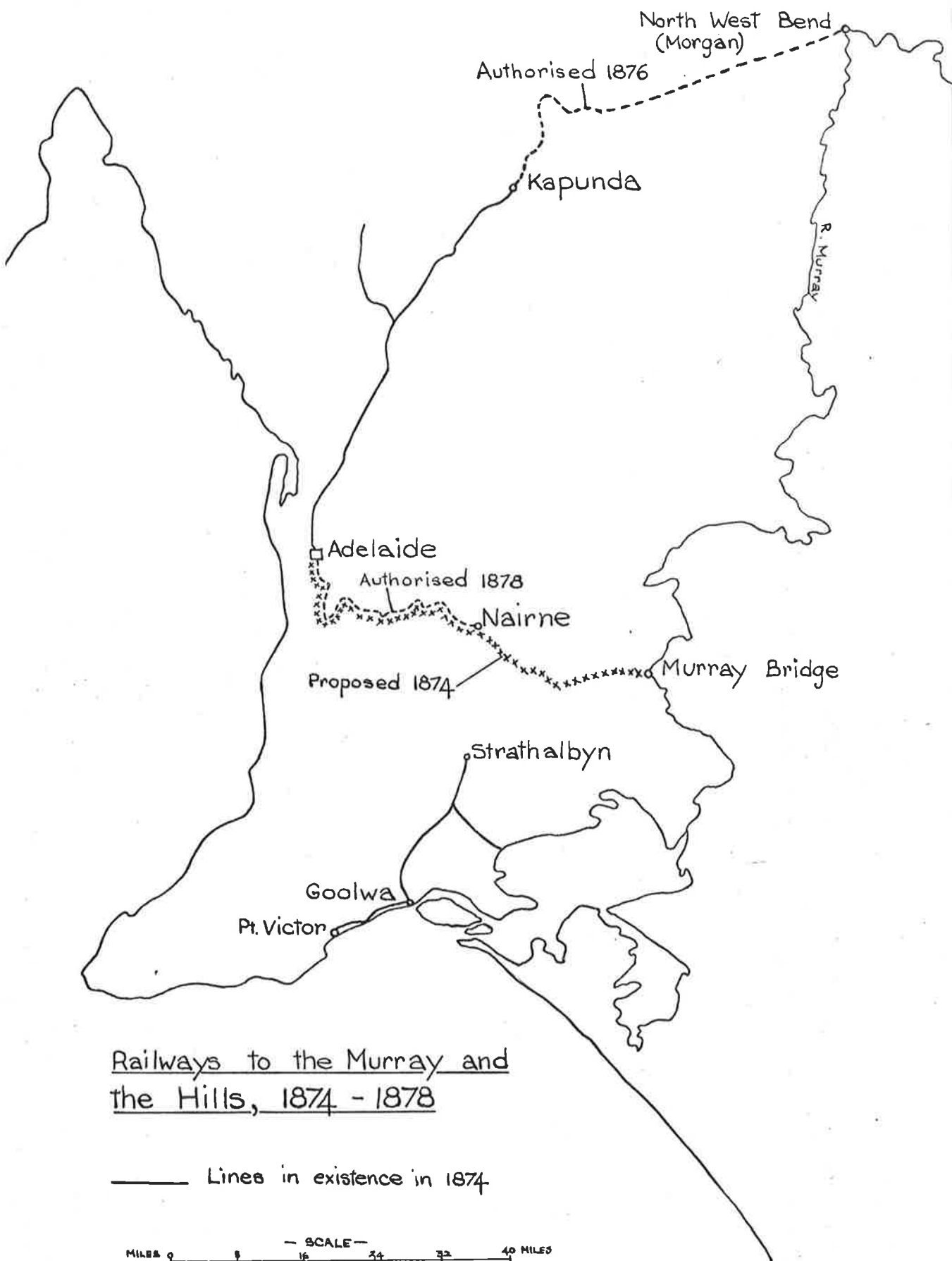
Thus disputes over public works were generally between different country districts, not between Adelaide and the country. However, the railway lines to the Murray and Broken Hill were matters on which Adelaide merchants and some country people were in sharp disagreement.

The waters of Australia's one great river system flow into South Australia, but the mouth of the Murray is unnavigable. To overcome this disability and secure the trade of the Murray and its tributaries to South Australia had long been the object of merchants and politicians.

Before responsible government was granted Governor Young had built a short horse tramway from Goolwa inside the river mouth to Port Eliot on the coast, where he spent money on a breakwater and moorings.* But a series of wrecks proved Port Eliot to be no port. In 1864 the tramway was extended four miles to Port Victor.¹⁸⁹ Like Port Eliot, Port Victor was exposed to the Southern Ocean and a large expenditure was needed to make it completely safe. This did not daunt the local residents, the electors of Encounter Bay, who dreamt of canals from Goolwa to the sea and fleets of large vessels at Port Victor riding safe behind a great breakwater and loading wool direct for London.

The alternative to improvements at Port Victor was a railway to link Port Adelaide to the Murray. This had been proposed many times, but its supporters always encountered the same difficulties. The Mount Lofty Ranges lie between Adelaide and the river, and through not a very formidable barrier, the construction of a railway across them was regarded as an expensive undertaking by South

* See Map p.214.



Railways to the Murray and the Hills, 1874 - 1878

— Lines in existence in 1874

Australians who until the seventies had only built lines in open rolling country. Since no one route across the ranges was clearly superior, the squabbling of the representatives of the five electorates through which the railway might run bedevilled all discussions in the Assembly on a Murray Railway. These districts were not interested in the river trade so much as the local convenience which the railway would afford. Finally, the inhabitants of Encounter Bay, though they claimed no railway could ever take trade from its natural course to Goolwa and Port Victor, were not completely prepared to see their claim put to the test.¹⁹⁰

In the early seventies Adelaide merchants and shippers renewed the campaign for a Murray railway. The Chamber of Commerce took the matter up and urged the Government to regard the line as a matter of necessity. The Chamber and the merchants conceded that it cost more to take wool overland to Adelaide than to carry it down river to Goolwa and Victor, but they maintained that quickness of dispatch from port was of greater importance than the cost of transit. If South Australia was to draw the river trade away from Echuca and Melbourne, it would have to match the low freights and quick dispatch of Port Melbourne. This could perhaps be achieved at Port Adelaide, but not at Port Victor which was reliant on the river trade alone. Merchants complained that when they sent a ship to Victor there was no certainty that sufficient wool would arrive down river at that time to give the ship a full load. If

all the Murray wool was sent to Port Adelaide, they argued, it would increase the total volume of trade and so lower freights and it would always be sure of finding a ship and a quick passage to English markets. To clinch its case the Chamber of Commerce exaggerated a little and said that two-thirds of the wool coming down river was finding its way to Adelaide.¹⁹¹ During the preceding five years the proportion going to Adelaide was actually 62%.¹⁹² Most of this wool was brought overland by road, the rest by coaster from Port Victor. Milang on Lake Alexandrina was the chief port for the road traffic.

Early in the 1874 parliamentary session both Houses passed resolutions for the construction of a Murray railway.¹⁹³ This put a certain amount of pressure on the Government, which, according to rumour, increased after some members helped the Government survive a no-confidence motion on condition that a railway bill was proceeded with.¹⁹⁴ The Legislative Councillors, whose interest was metropolitan and whose constituency was the whole colony, did not care what route the Government adopted so long as the line was built. Rather foolishly they announced they would not pass the Appropriation Bill until the Government had shown a determination to pass the Railway Bill in the Assembly.¹⁹⁵

To the Government, of course, the question of route was vital. It proposed a line through the hills south east of Adelaide to Nairne and then on to Murray Bridge. To placate those hills.

districts which this line would not serve it added two branch lines, and to forestall opposition from the advocates of a line to the North West Bend ministers described their scheme as the first section of a line to Melbourne.¹⁹⁶ So ministers spoke of the grand prospects for intercolonial trade and goodwill whilst their supporters saw their proposal as a means of taking the Riverina trade away from Melbourne. Though all this bespoke a Government determined to get the Bill passed, there was much in its behaviour to support those who said ministers had only introduced the Bill to curry favour and stay in power. They proposed to build the line on the 5'3" gauge, though the only estimates prepared were for a 3'6" line. The Engineer in Chief, who favoured a line to the north east, declined to give an opinion on the cost of a 5'3" line, so ministers then declared the matter of gauge to be an open question.¹⁹⁷ After the first debate on the Bill they announced they were prepared to see the branch lines dropped.¹⁹⁸ Nonetheless, the Bill passed its second reading by a majority of one.¹⁹⁹ If it could survive a third reading it was sure to become law because the Council would pass the Bill no matter what gauge or route it provided for.

Before the Bill reached its second reading public meetings in the country and the country press were speaking out against it.²⁰⁰ Generally they were not opposed in principle to a Murray railway, but they objected to a costly scheme being proposed by a Government which appeared not to know its own mind and which was apparently being.

forced to act by the Legislative Council, whose ultimatum was regarded as being particularly sinister. In several instances opponents said they would be happier with a line to the North West Bend which would be much cheaper as the existing line to Kapunda would only require to be extended 50 miles through relatively easy country. This was of course the opinion of the north eastern districts. At some meetings, after the Government's scheme had been condemned, motions were passed proposing other works on which the large sums required for the Government's scheme could be better spent.²⁰¹ In the South East the editor of the Border Watch clearly spelled out his opinion on the consequences of the colony being saddled with this expensive work: "We believe the fate of the railways from Rivoli Bay to Mount Gambier and from Kingston to Border Town depends on the fate of the projected line to the Murray Bridge. If it is undertaken the present generation is not likely to see any more South East lines made."²⁰² In the country it appeared as if Adelaide was looking after its own interests and neglecting every one else's.

The opposition in the country prepared for the worst. The Mayor of Gawler sent telegrams to the majors and chairmen of district councils in the larger towns suggesting a co-ordinated series of public meetings and deputations with the aim of persuading the Governor to dissolve parliament if all else failed and the Bill passed.²⁰³ But on the third reading in the Assembly the Speaker gave his casting vote to the Noes.²⁰⁴ Before this the Council had yielded and passed

the Appropriation Bill following widespread criticism of its stand-over tactics and perhaps counselled that its ultimatum was assisting the Bill's enemies rather than its friends.²⁰⁵

Once Boucaut was in power in 1875 his policy of large scale borrowing put an end to disputes over priorities which the 1874 Murray Railway Bill had provoked in the country. He satisfied the North, the mining towns on the Peninsula and the South East with promises of railways and his great public works scheme also met Adelaide's demand for a line to the Murray. With his strong following in the House, he was also able to settle decisively the direction the Murray railway should take. He proposed a line to the North West Bend, the cheapest of all routes. Yet after settling these disputes Boucaut created another by advocating a breakwater at Port Victor as well as a railway from Adelaide to the river.²⁰⁶

Boucaut justified the expense of both by arguing that South Australia had to act quickly to convince the Riverina settlers of its determination to provide adequate facilities for the conduct of the trade. The railway to the North West Bend could be built quickly and it would then encourage more people in New South Wales to send their produce down river. The breakwater, which would take longer to construct, would be required when heavy goods were being sent down and the trade had grown sufficiently to attract a whole fleet of ocean going vessels at Port Victor. Boucaut told the electors at Goolwa of the great capabilities of the river districts

as producers of wheat, wine and copper, all of which would come into South Australia if adequate facilities were provided. Passengers and light goods (he seemed undecided whether wool was one of these) would continue to leave the river at the North West Bend; the heavier produce would go to Goolwa and Victor. When Boucaut spoke, wool was almost the only commodity which came down the river, but he was planning, as he said, twenty years ahead.²⁰⁷

Perhaps his expectations were not unreasonable, especially since his long term plans provided for a canal from Goolwa to Victor, but after 1875 he could not be expected to modify his views readily because at the general election of that year he was returned as one of the members for Encounter Bay. In his new policy he supported free trade and assisted immigration, both reversals of his earlier opinions, which made his return for the metropolitan seat he had held in the previous parliament doubtful. So he stood instead for Encounter Bay. He always maintained that he did not advocate the breakwater because he represented the district; rather he had chosen the district because he favoured the breakwater.²⁰⁸

Boucaut was thwarted in 1875 by the Council's opposition to his Stamp Bill and defeated in 1876 after he had reconstructed his ministry. The Colton Government which succeeded him adopted, with much of the rest of his policy, the double-barrelled scheme for securing the Murray trade. The Bill providing for the North West Bend railway had an easy passage through both Houses,²⁰⁹ but Encounter

Bay did not get its breakwater that session. In 1875 the Assembly had had to accept the breakwater once it had accepted Boucaut. In 1876 a majority of members was still prepared to support it,²¹⁰ partly because the Murray railway was safe and the expenditure on the breakwater did not involve any skimping on other works, but also because to some extent they shared Boucaut's vision. South Australians have always tended to feel disappointed and even a little guilty that the Murray did not carry all the trade of the interior. The maxim that water carriage is always superior to land carriage died hard, even though in this case there were railways specifically designed and operated to take the trade from the river to Sydney and Melbourne²¹¹ and the river itself did not have a deep or even definite entrance to the sea, and was on occasions after dry seasons unnavigable. In the Upper House there were more hardheaded men. Having approved a railway to the North West Bend, they did not want to waste money on what they regarded as a duplication.²¹² In 1876 they rejected the breakwater proposal. The following year when the Assembly sent it up again Boucaut had returned to power. Fortunately for his own standing with his constituents the Council relented and by a narrow majority gave its approval to the scheme.²¹³ Within a year the Murray railway was open for business. The breakwater was not completed until four years later.

If the Legislative Council was reluctant to endorse two projects, so were the electors of Encounter Bay. Since the trade which supported their ports was not in the heavy goods that Boucaut

promised them in the future, but in wool, they could scarcely view with equanimity the construction of a railway specifically designed to take river wool to Adelaide. But when a leading constituent expressed their fears to the senior representative of the district, Boucaut could offer little comfort. He merely reiterated his arguments on the necessity for both railway and breakwater, and declared bluntly that if the Encounter Bay electors displayed any hostility to the railway, they would prejudice their chances of securing the breakwater.²¹⁴

Boucaut left politics for the Bench just as the railway reached the North West Bend. Before he departed his cabinet decided on the rates for the carriage of wool on the new line. The Traffic Manager recommended that they should not adhere to the fixed scale of charges which varied according to mileage and by which rates on all other lines were calculated. He proposed instead a special, slightly lower rate. The cabinet was divided and more information was called for. Boucaut presumably was anxious not to offend his own electors by favouring the railway too much.²¹⁵ Nevertheless when the matter was reconsidered the special rate was approved.²¹⁶ The death of a Supreme Court Judge soon afterwards enabled Boucaut to escape the consequences of creating two rival schemes for the conduct of the river trade.

Once Boucaut was gone there was no-one in the cabinet to speak for Encounter Bay. The reconstructed ministry under the leadership of

William Morgan brought down an Electoral Districts Bill which among other things abolished the constituency of Encounter Bay, by then the smallest electorate, and drafted its electors into two neighbouring districts.²¹⁷ The Assembly did not accept this Electoral Bill, but in other matters there was no reprieve for Encounter Bay. In 1879 the Government announced a reduction in the rate of carriage on goods sent by rail from Adelaide to Morgan, as the town at the North West Bend was now called, for dispatch by river to the eastern colonies.²¹⁸ During June 1880 the Commissioner of Public Works received two deputations in regard to the rate for the carriage of wool on the Morgan line: one from Encounter Bay complained that it was too low, the other describing themselves with some justice as the representatives of the "principal merchant houses in the colony" maintained that a still lower rate would bring more Riverina wool to Adelaide.²¹⁹ Nine of the men in the second deputation were members of parliament. It was accompanied by the Traffic Manager who had already recommended a reduction in the rate.²²⁰ Within three weeks a lower rate was gazetted.²²¹

Having failed with the ministry, the Encounter Bay interest took their cause to the country. In the case they prepared they relied chiefly on the allegation that the special rate for wool on the Morgan line was an injustice to the farmer. The rates he paid for wheat were far in excess of those charged on Morgan wool. The Government, they said, aimed to please the Adelaide merchant and the New South Wales squatter, yet it ignored the struggling farmer. The Mayor of

Goolwa sent circulars in this vein to all branches of the Farmers Association.²²² It evinced a little support and some opposition.²²³ Farmers certainly did want a lower freight for wheat, but they were less troubled by Encounter Bay's particular grievance. In the event, wheat freights were lowered while the special rate on Morgan wool remained in force.²²⁴ The protest from Encounter Bay became more feeble as the years passed.²²⁵

The railway and its special rate did not abolish the wool trade at Goolwa and Port Victor. Despite the reduction in rates, the journey over 100 miles of railway from Morgan to Port Adelaide was always more expensive than the trip down river and the short haul from Goolwa to Victor. The advantage of Port Adelaide lay in its greater concentration of trade. This was sufficient to deny Encounter Bay any chance of realising its dreams of greatness. Even before the railway was built wool was being hauled overland to Adelaide. By the turn of the century Port Victor was receiving only 19% of the wool sent down the river. Nearly all the stores sent up river were being shipped from Morgan.²²⁶

In the long term, neither Adelaide nor Encounter Bay handled the quantity of river trade which they had hoped for. The decline of Port Victor was more closely related to the fall in the quantity of wool coming down the river than to the opening of the Morgan railway or the introduction of special freight rates.²²⁷ Merchants and governments in Sydney and Melbourne, who diverted trade away from the river system,

were more guilty of Port Victor's destruction than their rivals in Adelaide. Yet the people of Encounter Bay did not view the matter in this way. In their eyes the guilty parties were those who had built the Morgan railway and favoured it with special rates.²²⁸

In 1878, as the North West Band railway neared completion and tenders were being called for the Port Victor breakwater, the Government introduced a bill for a railway through the hills south east of Adelaide to Nairne. The line was to follow almost the same route as that proposed in the Murray Railway Bill of 1874 which had aroused such concerted opposition in the country. Though it was to stop at Nairne, just over half way to the Murray, the line would pass through the most difficult portion of the hills where many tunnels and a long viaduct would be required. As in 1874 the proposal was forced upon the Government, on this occasion by a combination which included the representatives of the hills districts and those who wanted a line to Melbourne. Once the Government had taken the matter up, however, it advocated the line purely as a service to the local districts, not as the first portion of an intercolonial railway: its policy was to connect to the east via Wentworth.²²⁹

The representatives of the hills districts argued that in common justice their constituents should be given a railway because for so long they had helped to pay for all the northern railways from which they derived no benefit. Both they and the Government insisted that the line would pay well. The few opponents of the Bill argued

very convincingly that it could not pay since land in the hills was exhausted, the population declining, and the existing roads provided a more direct route to Adelaide than a circuitous railway. The majority of the Bill's supporters, however, were not concerned with the produce the line would carry. They spoke most enthusiastically of how it would enable the citizens of Adelaide to take the country air, and how other more fortunate citizens could live in villas in the hills during the summer to escape the heat on the plains.²³⁰

Before the line was finished one of its parliamentary supporters presided over the first meeting of shareholders of the Hills Land and Investment Company, which had bought land and intended to buy more along the route of the railway. They were hoping to realise when sites for villas were being sought.²³¹

Of all the major public works undertaken in this period the Nairne railway is the most difficult to justify. When it was opened for traffic it proved one of the least profitable lines.²³² The extension from Nairne to the Victorian border authorised in 1882 was all that saved the wastage of the large sums spent on its construction. The Traffic Manager in his annual reports said that he was agreeably surprised by the number of passengers using the line, but he explained that it would have paid a little better if the Government had not agreed to run more trains than present needs required with the aim of encouraging more people to build homes in the hills.²³³ The Traffic Manager termed this a "speculative" service and it seems

not unlikely that land speculators were among those who had requested it. Many other lines did not pay well either, but they could be classed in the terminology of the day as lines of development. The Nairne line certainly could not be put in this category since all the land along the lines was sold and had for a long time been under cultivation. On other occasions during these years one or other of the Houses of Parliament threw out bills for the construction of branch lines or those which were merely lines of convenience.²³⁴ Yet when it was Adelaide's convenience that was being served both Houses passed the line with alacrity.

In the Assembly one of the Bill's opponents, a local member from Kapunda, said he hoped the electors would remember the names of the members representing northern constituencies who voted for the Bill because they were residents of Adelaide.²³⁵ At the time the northern electors showed very little interest in the passage of the Bill. Two newspapers ran editorials opposing the line,²³⁶ but there were no indignation meetings nor the organised opposition which the 1874 Bill had occasioned. Only later as the line was being constructed did the feeling in the northern districts against it grow. Catt and Howe, local men who replaced two Adelaide politicians as the members for Stanley in 1881, claimed that it would never have been passed had payment of members been in force at the time.²³⁷ Be that as it may, in 1878 the country was plainly less particular about how the unpaid predominantly metropolitan representatives spent

the public funds than it had been in 1874. The abundance of funds made available by the adoption of Boucaut's policy of large-scale borrowing meant that public works projects were scrutinised less critically. In the three years after 1875 Adelaide acquired both a railway to the Murray and a line into the Hills without encountering any opposition from the country. The Assembly elected in 1878, when Boucaut's boldness on public works had become settled policy, contained the largest proportion of Adelaide men of all the parliaments of this period.²³⁸

The last major conflict over public works policy occurred just after the era of development was ended. It was concerned not with new undertakings, but with the use of existing railways. In 1888 and 1889 Adelaide merchants, led by the Chamber of Commerce, demanded that the Government stop the transfer of the new Broken Hill trade from Port Adelaide to Port Pirie. With the support of several other outports Port Pirie fought Adelaide's demands.

When the railway to the Barrier Ranges was authorised in 1884 the Broken Hill mines had not been discovered. A line to the north east had long been dear to those interested in mineral development, and they were many. On one occasion in the House of Assembly John Downer declared that every member in the House could be said to represent the mining interest.²³⁹ Faith in the mineral possibilities of the colony and its neighbouring territory was always strong and

speculation in mining ventures was endemic. The railway had been sent north from Port Augusta to assist existing mines, to provide for the inevitable development of others, and to accommodate the more certain trade in wool, sheep and cattle. Lines east to the Barrier Ranges were advocated to serve similar ends.²⁴⁰ When the line was finally authorised mines were working at Silverton, but not a Broken Hill.

There was some dispute about the route the line should take. Ports Augusta, Germein and Pirie at the north of Spencer's Gulf each wanted to be the port for the Barrier Ranges, and they were all opposed to any proposal that would take the trade to Port Adelaide. The various proposals were reduced to two: a line on the narrow gauge from Peterborough which would link Port Pirie directly with the Barrier, or an extension from Terowie of the broad gauge line from Adelaide.* The Government of 1884 proposed the first line in its Bill. The chief argument in favour of the narrow gauge was its cheapness. Since there was no guarantee of a large mineral trade, the expense of a broad gauge line through purely pastoral country could not be justified, especially since the boom years seemed to be over.²⁴¹ Despite opposition in both Houses, which came chiefly from pastoralists anxious to avoid a break of gauge in the transit of

* See Map III, Vol.2.

wool and stock to Adelaide, the Government's scheme was carried.²⁴²

The Commissioner of Public Works in introducing the measure said the bulk of the trade would come to Adelaide despite the break of gauge.²⁴³ He was proved right in regard to stock and wool, and he might not have been wrong about ore and bullion if the Barrier mines had remained small affairs. But had he and other members known then of the great traffic in ore and bullion which was to develop in the next few years and of the rapid growth of Broken Hill into a town much larger than any South Australian provincial centre, the arguments over route would have been much more fierce. The railway reached the New South Wales border in June 1887 and the extra miles to Broken Hill constructed by the Silverton Tramway Company were opened in January 1888, eighteen months after the B.H.P. had begun to smelt its ores.²⁴⁴

During 1888 and 1889 the Adelaide mercantile community was concerned at several changes in the Broken Hill trade. The B.H.P., the largest company at the Barrier, decided to do most of its business through Port Pirie instead of Port Adelaide. At Pirie it shipped its bullion and landed timber for the mines and coke for the smelting works.²⁴⁵ The line to Port Pirie was 80 miles shorter than to Port Adelaide, and since railway charges were fixed fairly strictly according to distance, the savings on the Pirie line was considerable. Even if the two ports had been equidistant from Broken Hill, the break of gauge on the route to Port Adelaide put that port to a further

disadvantage because coke, which the smelters were consuming in large quantities, suffered badly from excessive handling.²⁴⁶ Early in 1888 British Blocks announced that it planned to smelt at Port Pirie rather than Broken Hill,²⁴⁷ and later in the year B.H.P. chose Pirie as the site for its desilvering works.²⁴⁸ All these developments put the wharfowners at Port Adelaide, the Port Adelaide workingmen, and the shippers into a lobby demanding a change in the railway arrangements. They wanted the large increase in shipping needed to carry the mining trade to be concentrated at Port Adelaide: the wharfowners wanted more profit, the workingmen more work, and the shippers the lower freights which more business would bring.²⁴⁹

Another disturbing change of these years was that some general merchandise began to reach the mines by way of Port Pirie. Adelaide had always supplied the Barrier district with stores and it expected to reap the full benefit of supplying the mines. Some of the interlopers were Port Pirie storekeepers who had opened branches at the mines. These represented little threat to Adelaide because their business was small and their goods had come from Adelaide in the first place.²⁵⁰ What the Adelaide houses feared was the competition of Sydney merchants who were shipping goods through Port Pirie. They had several advantages over their Adelaide counterparts which enabled them to compete despite the cost of shipment from Sydney to Port Pirie. Goods from Britain were shipped at lower rates to Sydney than to Adelaide. Once in South Australia goods could be sent more cheaply by rail from Pirie than from

Adelaide and they avoided the confusion and delay which often occurred at the break of gauge at Terowie. Moreover, Sydney was trading with a city in the same colony whereas Adelaide merchants had the inconvenience of paying duties when they imported their goods and then applying for drawbacks on those they were sending to Broken Hill.²⁵¹ In the financial year 1888-9 approximately one tenth of all goods (excluding coke) received by rail at Broken Hill had come from Sydney via Port Pirie.²⁵²

As they saw it, the various groups in the Adelaide lobby - wharfowners, shippers, workingmen and merchants - were faced with a situation altogether different from the development of the outports in the seventies. In the first place the discoveries at Broken Hill were made in the midst of the severest depression since the forties, so vested interests were more sensible to threats, real or imaginary. Secondly, wool and wheat were only seasonal exports, but the mines produced all the year round. A regular export trade from Port Pirie, and a large and growing body of consumers at the mines would make a regular import trade easier to establish. The prospect which they feared was of a large number of ships trading in and out of Port Pirie with full cargoes, by-passing Port Adelaide completely and affording no profit to the metropolis. Of all this the activities of the Sydney merchants were a fearful omen. "Save the trade for South Australia" and "Don't make Port Pirie an outport of Sydney" were the battle cries of the Adelaide men.²⁵³

Differing opinions were held on what measures would be sufficient to give Adelaide the full benefit of the trade which was either lost or threatened. The maximum demand was for an adjustment of the railway freights so that charges from Adelaide to Broken Hill would be the same as from Port Pirie, and the abolition of the break of gauge by the laying of a third rail from Adelaide to Terowie or by the extension of the broad gauge Morgan line to the Barrier. Many would have been content if one part or other of this programme were implemented.

In 1888 the merchants put their case to Thomas Playford's first Government. It refused to consider either a differential rate or the schemes to overcome the break of gauge. Ministers would only promise to improve the operation of existing arrangements. Their one concession was to make the railways bear the cost of transferring goods at Terowie.²⁵⁴ The following year Playford was replaced by Dr. Cockburn, who won some votes for his no-confidence motion from those dissatisfied with Playford's "complacency" over the Barrier trade.²⁵⁵ Though the new Government declared boldly that it would put Port Adelaide in direct contact with Broken Hill,²⁵⁶ it showed little eagerness to redeem its promise. It did authorise a survey for a broad gauge line from Eudunda to Broken Hill,²⁵⁷ but the New South Wales Government saved Cockburn from making any further decision by announcing that it would not allow a broad gauge line to be constructed in its territory.²⁵⁸ Then the Commissioner of Public Works asked the

House to agree in principle to the laying of a third rail on the Adelaide to Terowie line. After a very desultory debate had been adjourned three times the question was not brought forward again. The motion lapsed at the end of the session.²⁵⁹ So the conditions of trade to the Barrier remained basically unaltered, despite the strenuous efforts of the Adelaide mercantile community. Why did they fail on this occasion, and yet succeed in getting special rates on the Murray railway?

By the late eighties country members were more prominent in the House and to a lesser extent in the ministry than they had been in the late seventies.²⁶⁰ When the merchants gathered their forces for their first assault by deputation upon the Government they must have been a little discouraged at the prospect of presenting their case to Alfred Catt, Commissioner of Public Works, late storekeeper of Gladstone, and member for that district which also included the town of Port Pirie. The policy of the Playford Government was to let the trade find its own route, but once the B.H.P. had fixed on Port Pirie, one can imagine how much more willing Catt was to give them the assistance which any minister is in a position to grant than, say, an Adelaide merchant or wharfowner would have been had he held the office.²⁶¹ When Cockburn formed his ministry in 1889, he made James Howe Commissioner of Public Works. Nothing throws more doubt on the sincerity of his promise to give Adelaide a direct rail link to the Barrier than this appointment, because Howe was the other

member for Gladstone, formerly a farmer, and the owner of considerable property in Port Pirie. Had he carried a third line to Terowie he could not have faced the Gladstone electors again.

The larger proportion of country members in the House also meant that the Adelaide merchants found less champions than before. But more important than this was the large number of country districts which felt aggrieved at Adelaide's attempt to take trade away from Port Pirie. Port Augusta and Wallaroo, both superior ports to Port Pirie, and Port Germein still hoped to benefit from the Barrier trade. Each had plans for branch lines to connect itself to the Port Pirie-Broken Hill railway.²⁶² These places were all rivals to Port Pirie but they combined to oppose Adelaide, jealousies for the moment being forgotten in the hope that the trade would grow so much that there would be enough for all.²⁶³ The farmers who sent their wheat to Port Pirie were also involved in the issue because more shipping at Pirie meant lower freights and a better price on their wheat. To the embarrassment of the rest of the Adelaide community, John Darling who did a large business in wheat at Port Pirie was happy to support that port's claims.²⁶⁴ The small businessmen and the working people of Port Pirie thus found considerable support for their cause. This was in marked contrast to Encounter Bay's position in its contest with Adelaide's merchants for it was the only electorate vitally affected by the special rates on the Morgan line. Though it had received little support for its cause, Encounter Bay was not ungenerous when

others were in need. One of its representatives joined a deputation from the northern ports and towns which waited on Catt to sustain him in his opposition to Adelaide's demands, and in supporting a policy of no-favouritism, he pointed out how that policy had been shamefully laid aside when Adelaide conspired to destroy Port Victor.²⁶⁵

In the House of Assembly, then, there was a considerable number of members, many of them local men, whose districts were opposed to concessions being granted to Adelaide. At no time were they called on to act together, but their strength sustained Playford's Government in its resolve to do nothing, and was no doubt sufficient to keep Cockburn from attempting too much.²⁶⁶

In the event, the merchants trading in general merchandise, the largest group in the Adelaide lobby, did not suffer at all, even though they failed to secure their demands in 1888 and 1889. Sydney's efforts were only a flash in the pan. Had Broken Hill continued to grow rapidly - in the late eighties some thought it would be larger than Adelaide - no doubt it could have sustained a direct import trade at Port Pirie. But so long as Adelaide or Sydney had to forward its supplies, the advantage of the former in being closer and able to handle orders more quickly became quite evident once the railway and customs arrangements had been smoothed out.²⁶⁷ The possibility of Sydney competing with Adelaide was lessened further when the difference on freight rates between Britain and the two ports was reduced during

1888.²⁶⁸ So though ore and bullion went to Port Pirie, general merchandise was sent from Adelaide.

The other group in the lobby - the shippers, and the Port Adelaide wharfowners and workingmen - had merely to accept events over which they had no control. In 1889 the smelters and the refinery planned in 1888 began operations alongside Port Pirie wharves. By 1896 the B.H.P. was smelting all its ore there. The trade of the mines was firmly anchored at Port Pirie.²⁶⁹ In 1888 the Assembly had refused to approve further expenditure for the deepening of Port Pirie. By the early nineties money was being voted again without discussion.²⁷⁰ However, the retention of the import trade at Port Adelaide meant that the situation was not as bad as this group had feared.²⁷¹ General merchandise for Broken Hill still passed across the Port Adelaide wharves.

The demand for special rates on the Murray railway and for the re-organisation of the railways to the Barrier were the only occasions on which Adelaide merchants sought preferential treatment. In both cases they encountered strong opposition in some country districts. No matter what the result of these conflicts, they were plainly not fought between equals. The merchants of Goolwa and Victor controlled part of the trade on the Murray, but in the export of wool overseas they were merely the agents of Adelaide merchants and shippers. This put them at a considerable disadvantage because they were to some

extent in Adelaide's hands before the fight began.²⁷² In its fight with Adelaide, Port Pirie always claimed a victory, but Adelaide still supplied the Barrier (and Port Pirie) with general merchandise, and the victory did not lead to the creation of an independent mercantile community at Port Pirie. The local businessmen and workingmen had fought to make Port Pirie a company town. Had the Victor merchants been independent the river trade question might not have been settled so easily; and if independent merchants had appeared at Port Pirie the Broken Hill trade would have been a continuing source of conflict. But these outports could only ever offer a limited challenge to Adelaide, and were never able to achieve more than a minor victory. Adelaide's dominance was such that major conflict was impossible.

The results of the disputes over the Murray railway and the Broken Hill trade left only the residents of Encounter Bay with any lasting bitterness against the metropolis, for the protest at the 1874 Murray Railway Bill was not based upon any principle and passed as circumstances changed, and the victory of the northern towns in the struggle for the Barrier trade gave Port Pirie coke furnaces, smelting works and a pride in its fighting capabilities.

These disputes had provoked organised campaigns in the country directed against Adelaide. Apart from these, there were continual murmurings and sporadic outbursts at various faults which countrymen found in their predominantly metropolitan parliaments. A frequent

charge was the willingness of parliament to spend money on "extravagant" public buildings in the city.²⁷³ In the eighties poor seasons and the imposition of direct taxation made the country more critical of "extravagancies". The Nairne railway, authorised with scarcely a murmur in 1878, began to come under attack, especially from the northern wheat lands. In 1884 the Farmers Association noted with regret that while farmers were carting water parliament was ignoring their plight to discuss the new Parliamentary buildings in the Exhibition Bill.²⁷⁴

Plans for a new and rather grand Parliament House had been adopted in 1874. At the time there were of course complaints about the self indulgence of the parliamentarians. These feelings were intensified because arguments about designs and sites dragged on throughout the seventies, to be followed by disputes with contractors when work actually began.²⁷⁵ It was debate on one of these disputes that aroused the ire of the Farmers Association. The outcry in the country against the proposal to construct an Exhibition Building and conduct a Jubilee Exhibition was such that the Government had to abandon the whole project. The Exhibition Bill had passed readily enough,²⁷⁶ but then country people decided that the Exhibition was solely for Adelaide's benefit and was a luxury not to be countenanced in hard times. After the 1884 general election the Exhibition Bill was accordingly repealed.²⁷⁷ The Exhibition was held nonetheless because a group of private individuals took up and brought to a successful

conclusion what the parliament had been forced to reject.

In the seventies millions of pounds had been spent by a predominantly metropolitan parliament without provoking much criticism from the country. In the less prosperous eighties the spending of lesser amounts encountered many more objections. The campaigners for payment of members, working with renewed vigour in the eighties, were full of criticisms of the selfish extravagances of Adelaide's parliament. However, these were never compounded into a really spirited denunciation of the city and its works, for this city was part of the country's life. Soon after his election in 1881, J. H. Howe, one of the new local representatives, asserted in the House that country people "felt as much identified with, and as proud of the city palatial structures, the Botanic Gardens etc., ... as did the citizens themselves".²⁷⁸ And in May 1887 country people in the north began to pester the Commissioner of Public Works for concession fares on the railways so they could visit the Jubilee Exhibition opening in June. The concessions were granted and special trains brought them to Adelaide.²⁷⁹

If a tribunal capable of determining that elusive thing, the national interest, could have been constituted, it might well have upheld the charges made by some country people that the parliament should have spent money on other projects before a railway to Nairne or grand public buildings in the city. The best defence of the parliament would have been to point to the millions of pounds

spent on railways to the outports, and on wharves, jetties and dredging. No matter who bought wheat at the new railway stations nor who shipped it overseas, the country seemed no longer to be focussed wholly on Adelaide. Of course the city still prospered, but there were no figures kept of the population of metropolitan Adelaide, and little realisation that it was growing faster than the country. The most obvious change in the colony's resources was the increase in area sown to wheat; and in its trade, the development of the outports. From towns of only a few thousand people in the north ships sailed every summer for England, and when grain ships arrived at the lower Yorke Peninsula ports sailors who had seen the world surely wondered and perhaps cursed to find themselves anchored off mere villages. The illusion of independence which the new pattern of railways and the new ports made possible must also have helped to allay any annoyance felt at the ubiquity of Adelaide's merchants or the peccadilloes of Adelaide's parliament.

The concentration of the colony's business in Adelaide made parliament's task as a developer relatively easy. Since the question of who was to control trade was settled, parliament was not troubled by conflicts between separate and independent mercantile communities. This not only made it easy for the policy of development to be adopted and maintained, it also reduced to a minimum the political conflict between Adelaide and the country. Adelaide interests were firm supporters, and on occasions the chief promoters, of the railway to the

outports, which country people needed to get their produce to market. The connecting railways, which might appear to be assertions of Adelaide's economic and political dominance, were in fact supported more keenly in the country than in Adelaide. Where there was a chance of conflict over railway development, abundance of funds averted it. In the second half of the seventies the country was not concerned when Adelaide secured its two pet projects - a railway to the Murray and into the Hills - about which at other times it had some misgivings. These factors help to explain why the country was for so long content to be represented by Adelaide merchants, lawyers, financiers and agents. In the matter of major public works they could represent Adelaide, where they conducted their business, and some country district, for which they were elected, without prejudicing the interests of either. It was over the minor matters of public buildings and facilities that the country was upset at the partiality of the predominantly metropolitan parliament. In the hard times of the eighties these feelings were concentrated into a demand for local representation and payment of members.

This demand was also the result of other dissatisfactions. In the early eighties farmers were again complaining about the land laws, and land reform reappeared as an important issue.

Land Reform (part two)

In April 1880 Ebenezer Ward had to assign his estate to his creditors, to whom he owed £17,000, and as an insolvent resign his seat in parliament. His legendary reputation as a land reformer was damaged, though not fatally, by the revelation that several squatters were among those who had lent him money in the early seventies.²⁸⁰ Later in the year he went to Crystal Brook in the heart of the new northern wheatlands and gave his Life of Shakespeare lecture with proceeds going to the local institute.²⁸¹ The real purpose of the visit, however, was to meet the parent branch of the newly formed South Australian Farmers Mutual Association. That body was considering publishing a farmers' paper and Ward wanted to be associated with it. In fact he offered to finance the venture, and in return for a promise of support he would print a complete record of the Association's proceedings. He himself would be editor, but he was prepared to consult with a committee of the Association on policy. Neither he nor his proposal escaped criticism and the Association's Executive, to which the matter was referred, made an arrangement instead with the local Gladstone paper.²⁸² Ward was still popular with the farmers - in 1881 he re-entered the Assembly as a member for a northern farming constituency - but the farmers were no longer solely reliant on him or other parliamentary friends. What had brought them into an association of their own?

The newspapers frequently reported the formation of local farmers' clubs and associations. The feelings which prompted the farmers

were usually vague and the associations seldom lasted long. One disgruntled farmer described the associations he had known,

We say we have Farmers Associations and what do we do? Well, we meet at the hotel, and it's either no one has anything to suggest, or all speak at once ... Someone proposes something, and others slide out for a drink and forget to come back ... Those who are willing to go ahead have no one to join them, and meet with such disappointments that in a little while they ... come no more.²⁸³

In contrast to this, the rapid growth of the Farmers Mutual Association was remarkable. It began at Crystal Brook in 1879 and in March 1880 representatives of 23 branches met in Adelaide and drew up a constitution.²⁸⁴ The architect of this success was George Venning who, having been a founder of the Crystal Brook association, travelled to other localities to establish new branches. The reason for his success was a reawakening of interest in the land question. Venning's chief interest was in forming a social and mutual improvement society but, as he himself reported, he found the farmers more interested in the terms on which they held their land.²⁸⁵

In the early seventies farmers had been given free access to the land and they had then submitted to paying a high price with interest to acquire it. However, as the time for repayment of the purchase money approached, many realised that they had agreed to pay too much. When the run of good seasons ended in 1880 and the farmers began to reap poor and disastrous harvests, the need to escape from their agreements became more pressing. The framing of measures to free farmers from their obligations and to prevent high prices being

exacted in the future was the chief concern of the Farmers Association. Though its membership was open to farmers everywhere, branches were only formed in areas where land was held on credit from the crown. In the north and on Yorke Peninsula the Association was strongest; a few branches operated in the South East and on Eyre Peninsula, but none in the lands settled prior to 1869.²⁸⁶

Association policy was decided upon by conference and between conferences by the Executive submitting matters to branches and adopting the opinion agreed on by three-fifths of them. The Executive conveyed the decisions of the Association to the parliament and the government, or arranged for all branches to submit similar petitions for greater effect. After each annual conference delegates would wait on the Commissioner of Crown Lands as a body to submit their policy on the all-important land question. The Commissioner in turn attended the Farmers' Banquet and if the ministry had reached a decision on their submission he generally announced it here.²⁸⁷

The objects of the Association provided that members could combine to return men to parliament to represent their interests. The Association's first major political efforts were devoted to the Legislative Council elections of 1881 and 1882. These were the last occasions when the whole colony voted as one constituency. At the invitation of a deputation from the annual conference James Rankine, a farmer in the Adelaide Hills, stood in 1881 and was returned.²⁸⁸ In 1882 the Executive asked its President, John Miller, to run.²⁸⁹

He polled very well in all the northern and western districts, but he failed to collect enough votes in Adelaide and the old farming districts to be among the first six.²⁹⁰ By contrast Rankine had been a perfect candidate since he came from the south and was supported by an Association strong in the north and west. Apart from bringing out these two men, the Executive surveyed the list of candidates, chose five whose policies it considered to be most in accord with the Association's and requested members to support them.²⁹¹ There was thus a full farmer's ticket for the six vacancies. In both years there was considerable dissatisfaction with the Executive's choice.²⁹² Those who complained showed little willingness to sink differences for the sake of unity - certainly there was nothing in the rules of the Association obliging them to. In 1881 four of the five chosen were elected, in 1882, three. The contribution of the Association to this result was slight. The success of 1881 (when Rankine was also returned) was due to the Association's recommendations harmonising with a general determination to dispense with old members and return new blood. The Association could not have more than a marginal influence in Council elections while the whole colony voted as one. When district elections were first held in 1885 the Association was in decline.

For the Assembly elections local branches within an electorate could co-operate. Even though the number of members and branches involved was far less than for a Council election, co-operation was

still precarious. In 1881, four days before the election, representatives of the Stanley branches met and were relieved to find they had all brought recommendations supporting Howe and Catt.²⁹³ Howe, a retired farmer, had been asked to stand by a delegation from the 1881 conference.²⁹⁴ Catt, a retired storekeeper from Gladstone, chose himself from the other candidates. Among those urging him to stand had been some leading members of the Farmers Association.²⁹⁵ Howe and Catt were both elected, and after 1884 they both sat for the new seat of Gladstone. One of the members elected for Stanley in 1884 was Miller, the President of the Association. A Vice-President, Copley, was successful in Frome. The other member for Frome was Ebenezer Ward. The Association branches in the electorate had been divided over whether they should support him - there were murmurs about his not being a local man - but Ward was still strong enough not to need the Association's endorsement.²⁹⁶

This, then, was the extent of the Association's electoral success. Through the efforts of its Executive and branches and by the votes of its members it had sent four new representatives to the Assembly and one to the Council. This was a very limited achievement, yet the influence of the Association, however vague and unconcerted, was an altogether novel feature of rural political life. Its success was sufficient for its views to command respect.

As the agricultural prospect became less hopeful the Association demanded larger concessions for the credit selector. In 1882

it drew up its final policy on this matter: it wanted interest payments made since January 1879 to be counted towards payment of purchase money, any unpaid interest due since then and all future interest payments to be remitted, and the purchase money to be repaid in annual instalments of 5% instead of in lump sums as the original Acts provided.²⁹⁷

The Government was not prepared to go so far. Like all governments in this period, it was anxious not to write off more contributions to the land fund than it could help. In 1882 it introduced and passed a bill which remitted interest on a sliding scale to those who had reaped crops of six bushels per acre or less over the previous three seasons. The Act did provide that no interest should be paid on future credit agreements. In addition the Act allowed a concession not sought by the Association: a farmer could surrender his existing agreement and have the land put up at auction again in the hope that he would again be the successful bidder, but at a lower price. If he was not successful, he could have any purchase money paid under the old agreement credited to a new agreement taken out on new land.²⁹⁸ This scheme was generally considered by members to be conceding less than the Association demanded, but in the event it enabled many farmers to make changes in their agreements more drastic than the Association had been prepared to recommend.²⁹⁹ There was little competition at these second auctions because of the gloomy outlook for agriculture and a requirement that a new holder had to pay cash for the

improvements made by an out-going selector. Eighty per cent of the original holders were again successful and in most cases land was knocked down at only a little over the minimum price.³⁰⁰ Farmers who had contracted to pay £5 or £6 per acre were now only committed to £1-0-6.

Second auction was particularly helpful to those who had paid exorbitant prices, for whom the risk of being outbid was well worth taking. Those who had not paid so much had to wait until 1884 before parliament granted them the concessions on interest and method of repayment which the Association had urged. The Act of that year embodied the Association's policy.³⁰¹ Overall, the concessions granted to farmers reduced the amount owing to the crown by £829,400,³⁰² twice the sum paid into the land fund in a good year during the seventies. So the system of making farmers compete against each other for land did not finally produce as much as its supporters had expected. Though farmers acquiesced in the system when they were merely promising to pay, they organised to oppose it once repayment became burdensome.

The adoption of the second auction scheme in 1882 and the failure of the 1883 session to grant any concessions³⁰³ show that the Association did not have a commanding influence. It was nonetheless an effective means of reminding politicians that they had to do something to help the selectors. It also removed from political discussion much of the confusion which the undisciplined expression of farming

opinion had formerly promoted and which parliaments luke-warm on land reform had exploited. Association policy was referred to in the House by members explaining their views and by ministers defining policy. For the first time governments and parliaments knew their performance was being scrutinised by a specifically rural organisation with a following in a wide spread of constituencies.

Having grown quickly, and given political life a new dimension, the Association rapidly declined. Its financial and numerical strength was greatest in March 1882, three years after its foundation. There were 1,250 members in 60 branches. During the previous year the executive had spent £300, £176 of which had been received as levies from the branches. In the following years membership figures were not always given, but the amount received in levies tells the story of the decline. In 1883 it had dropped to £108, in 1884 to £100, and in 1885 to £50, which represented a paid up membership of only 200.³⁰⁴ The Association struggled on, with annual conferences at which only nine or ten branches were represented, until it was disbanded in 1892.

The general depression was one cause of this decline, but the granting of concessions on credit agreements was a more important reason for the loss of interest. It is no coincidence that the decline began in 1882, the year in which the Land Act allowing some remission of interest and a second auction was passed.

Even in its best days the continued existence of the Association was threatened by the reluctance of the farmers to submit to the control

of the Executive, few though its powers were. Office holders and the Executive were elected by the annual conference, the chairman of every branch having the right to attend and vote at the Executive's meetings. The Executive sat first at Crystal Brook, and later at Gladstone in the new northern wheatlands. In the districts surrounding these towns the Association was strongest, but the distance from Gladstone of other districts where the Association flourished effectively debarred members in those areas from standing for election, and generally kept their chairmen from exercising their right to attend meetings. Proposals for giving the Association a federal structure or an itinerant executive were made several times and though well supported were always defeated.³⁰⁵ But the disgruntled took matters into their own hands. In several districts branches of the Association disbanded and reformed as independent farmers' clubs. The Executive then invited these clubs to send delegates to the annual conference as associate members. A few responded in 1886 and 1887.³⁰⁶

The difficulty of distance must not be emphasised too much in explaining the splintering of the Association. The opinion of the outer branches was taken at conferences, and between conferences as well because the Executive had no power to decide policy without referring to the branches and receiving the support of the majority. Tensions were also created because the needs and disabilities of farmers differed from district to district.³⁰⁷ And always a hindrance to organisation and a threat to any association once formed was the

notorious unwillingness of the farmer to submit to the restraints that any organisation necessarily imposed. An executive at a distance was in this no different from one near at hand. In a very short time many farmers progressed from membership of the Association, to the recommendation of a federal structure, to the formation of separate clubs, and finally to being their own master back on the farm, unconnected with any organisation.

Though the fortunes of the Association rose and fell with the interest of credit selectors in gaining concessions, the Association concerned itself with a wide range of political subjects. The aim was twofold: not merely to push into the political arena matters vital to the farmers, but also to express a farming opinion on the assortment of issues constituting the political questions of the day. It was a modest aim. On the whole the Association let others define what the questions of the day were, and though it wanted to have members in parliament to represent its views, it had no vision of ever being associated with a government.

The one exception of this limited approach was its advocacy of payment of members, for this was expected to effect a fundamental change in the constitution of parliament, and put new restraints and imperatives upon governments. Payment of members was Association policy from the beginning.³⁰⁸ There was a significant minority of members opposed to it, but the assumption that local men were superior was almost universal. Only a few still maintained that Adelaide men

made better representatives. We have seen how the Association added its voice to the complaints about the Exhibition and the new Parliament Buildings;³⁰⁹ and such grievances in part prompted its demand for payment of members. But the members of the Association had more fundamental reasons for their dissatisfaction. The fact that they needed to seek cheaper terms for their land than those the unpaid, Adelaide-dominated parliaments had exacted was more telling evidence of the need to change parliament's composition. Of course the farmers stranded beyond Goyder's Line of rainfall or saddled with an agreement to pay a high price with interest for their farms had no right to blame anyone else for their plight, but their plight nevertheless bred in them a conviction that parliament could be improved upon. "Adelaide shall rule no more" was the message Venning carried as he travelled through the wheatlands visiting and establishing branches.³¹⁰

By its advocacy the Association contributed to the ultimate success of the payment of members agitation. By its existence it probably did more. To its members and the country population at large it demonstrated that political affairs could be conducted in ways different from the past: country people were capable of organising themselves, they could discuss and formulate policies, they could escape from the complete reliance upon the independent member who was so frequently a metropolitan absentee. In so doing the Association helped to discredit the conservative notions which led men to expect little good from a paid parliament of local representatives.

The examination of the three chief political issues of the period has enabled us to identify the factors responsible for the variations in the strength of the payment of members agitation and in the proportion of country men elected to the Assembly. The tariff question occasioned no conflict between the bulk of the rural electorate and the city's commercial, financial and professional men who were so strongly represented in the parliament. On the whole the process of constructing major public works was carried on without leading to conflicts which might have created dissatisfaction with an unpaid metropolitan parliament. However, on the question of land reform in the early seventies there was a conflict between the metropolitan interests represented in parliament and the needs of the farmers. The agitation for payment of members began when concern for land reform was strongest between 1868 and 1871, and secured a minor victory with the Assembly's acceptance of Playford's resolution in 1871. At the land reform election of 1870 the proportion of country residents elected to the Assembly rose sharply. As the farmers' demands for ready access to crown lands was met, the interest in payment of members flagged and the proportion of country residents elected to the Assembly fell. Public works became the chief preoccupation of parliament.

In the early eighties the run of good seasons ended and the colony entered a period of economic depression. Hard-pressed

farmers in the new areas sought concessions on their credit agreements. They were no longer prepared to rely on the personal efforts of an Ebenezer Ward to fight their battles: they produced their own political organisation. The cut-back in government spending and the imposition of direct taxation made country men more critical of the predominantly metropolitan parliament and its alleged "extravagancies". The proportion of country residents elected to the Assembly began to rise and the payment of members agitation was revitalised. The country was becoming more assertive. Following the 1884 general election, the first session of the new parliament repealed the Exhibition Act, adopted the Farmers Association policy on concessions to selectors, and on the motion of John Cockburn, one of the new country members, passed a payment of members bill. It was of course rejected by the Council.

The next three years were the worst in the colony's history since the 1840s. In each year the Assembly passed a payment of members bill. Though no one ever suggested that it would prevent low prices and poor seasons, some very large claims were now made for it. Its advocates maintained that the colony would be saved thousands of pounds by the careful legislation of a paid parliament. They claimed that had it been introduced earlier many extravagant public works would never have been authorised. This recriminatory tone seemed to catch the mood of the moment, for this argument was repeated again and again.³¹¹ Payment of members, like protection and

the single tax, had become one of the remedies which the colonists, bewildered by the collapse of prosperity, were intent on administering to the body politic.

In the early 1870s the interest in securing payment of members had been strong throughout the country districts. The payment of members issue was closely attached to the question of land reform and that question was then of vital importance to all farming districts. In the eighties, however, the outer districts tended to be more insistent on the need for payment of members and local representation than the older settled areas closer to Adelaide. The land reform question was by then chiefly concerned with securing relaxations in existing credit agreements and hence did not concern the older districts at all. The Farmers Mutual Association, which played such an important role in encouraging the political self-confidence of country people, operated only in the areas settled after 1870. The older districts were well served with public works and buildings and hence were less liable to be affronted by parliamentary "extravagancies", and incomes in these well watered district were more secure than in the newer lands. The keenest supporters of payment of members in the country were those farmers still indebted to the crown for their land and who were carting water while Adelaide was planning its Jubilee Exhibition.

During the seventies country people supported payment so they could elect local rather than Adelaide men. In the eighties they were

joined by the Adelaide working classes who were dissatisfied with their members because they were generally of the wrong class.

Payment of members was part of the platform of the Trades and Labour Council which exercised such a marked influence in metropolitan constituencies at the 1887 general election. So strong were the demands for payment in both city and country that after this election all opposition in the Assembly at last vanished, and even the Legislative Councillors, some of whom had to face their constituents the following year, felt obliged to bow to the popular will.³¹²

When payment of members was first discussed in the House of Assembly in 1871 Arthur Blyth, iron merchant and bank director, declared confidently that the House would in the future always contain great numbers of Adelaide men just as it had done in the past.³¹³ The Assembly which he was addressing had been elected in 1870 when the feeling for land reform was running high and in fact contained an unusually high proportion of country residents. But thereafter the proportion declined and Blyth's certainty seemed fully justified. In the Legislative Halls he continued to meet many men of his own kind: merchants, bank directors, lawyers and pastoralists. The price they paid for the maintenance of their position was to give the farmers first choice of crown lands and to allow them government credit to pay for it. Having survived the land reform agitation, men from Adelaide's business

and landholding community held their position effortlessly until the crisis of the eighties, which led to their demise. They were attacked in the country as careless and irresponsible absentees and in Adelaide as poor representatives of the working classes. In the new political order taking shape after 1887 Adelaide's business and landholding community was to find it much harder to gain access to positions of power - and at a time when its interests were threatened much more than in the past.

The payment of members campaign, which aimed to free country people from the rule of Adelaide men, was not associated with any demand for an increase in local autonomy or for separation and new states. The country was on the way to ridding itself of metropolitan absentees, but parliaments of local men did not disturb the centralised administration of the state created before 1887. Why this was established and found acceptable forms the subject of the next section.

SECTION 2GOVERNMENT FROM ADELAIDE: A CENTRALISED ADMINISTRATION

The years 1870 to 1914 witnessed the expansion of the settled areas from the hill and plain country within eighty miles of the capital to about their present day limits. In the seventies the expansion was most rapid. The farming frontier was pushed forward 150 miles in the north and Yorke Peninsula was transformed from a pastoral wilderness. Then a little more slowly settlers moved across to Eyre Peninsula in the West and along the Murray and into the Murray Mallee in the East. In the South East, despite the failure of the Selection Acts, the drainage schemes and the Closer Settlement Acts eventually attracted new settlers and townsmen to share the land with the squatters. Yet the trekking of the farmers, the ploughing of virgin soil, the growth of new towns and ports, did not weaken the ties with the government in Adelaide. On the contrary, the new areas were more closely linked to the central administration in Adelaide than the old ones had been. Just as the rush northwards was beginning in the early seventies the central government assumed new responsibilities for education and public health. The government followed the farmers and educated their children and policed the public health of their towns according to standards laid down in Adelaide. After 1869 the central government was for varying periods the landlord of nearly all the settlers in new areas. Requests for the relaxation of the conditions of credit agreements and leases, and disputes about whether these conditions had been

fulfilled, maintained a steady correspondence between the farmers and the Lands Department in Victoria Square.

This relationship with the Lands Department strengthened the connection between the new settlers and the government in a special way, but everywhere the connection was close. In old areas and new the central government performed functions which were generally regarded elsewhere as the province of local government. This was a phenomenon common to all the Australian colonies. In South Australia the central government controlled and paid for the police force, poor relief, and most of the hospitals. After 1873 it was largely responsible for the public health of the province and in 1875 it assumed full responsibility over all its public schools. In its reliance on the central government for all these services the country was linked closely to Adelaide, the centre from which they were administered. This section will describe this centralised administration and attempt to explain its strength.

The classic explanation for the weakness or absence of local government in nineteenth century Australia was provided by W. K. Hancock and G. V. Portus.¹ It rests chiefly on the assertion that the sparsity of settlement in Australia made local government, or effective local government, impossible and reliance on central government a necessity. Hancock writes, "consider the predicament of the pioneers: ... each is so isolated from his fellows and so engrossed in his struggles that effective local co-operation is impossible".² Portus refers to the

"disposition of our country people over wide areas, too sparsely populated to make it possible to devolve the supervision of education to local authorities".³ In most subsequent accounts of the history of local government the geography of settlement has loomed large.⁴

One of the difficulties in analysing the sparsity of settlement argument is that its authors unwittingly offer it as the explanation for two rather different phenomena. It is used to explain why the colonial governments had to run the public utilities such as the railways and the telegraph and also to explain the central government's control of such matters as education and the police. The traditional argument has been that sparsity of settlement made railways unprofitable and the formation of local government bodies impossible. But it is rather confusing to talk of these public utilities and local government together, for the alternative to government control of the railways is not local control, but private company control. Many nineteenth century governments, including some in the United States, undertook major public works such as main roads, canals, and railways without being required to control police or education. A railway and a school house are very different undertakings, yet Portus seems to be arguing that settlers in any one locality could only have built their own schoolhouse if they had been able to construct their own railway.⁵

Following the work of Butlin and Blainey,⁶ sparsity of settlement can no longer be taken as the only or even the chief reason for the government's control of the railways. The task of this section is

to explain why in South Australia the central government, and not local government, controlled the police, education, poor relief and was chiefly responsible for public health. The alleged sparsity of settlement can be shown to have no relevance for this problem.

Portus and Hancock both refer to the development of local government in the United States and use the comparison to reinforce their arguments about Australia. It is claimed that strong local government bodies emerged in the United States because settlement was close and the danger from the indigenous inhabitants was great. Local government grew spontaneously to meet local needs. In Australia - the argument continues - local government was weak because settlement was sparse and the danger from the aborigines slight.⁷ These accounts of the American situation are quite acceptable so long as they are taken as applying to the first settlements on the eastern seaboard, and more particularly to the villages of New England. They do not explain why strong local institutions were established right across the continent in the century after 1788. This was not a spontaneous process. After independence the federal government assumed control of the western lands and framed a policy for their settlement and government. As settlement advanced the West was divided into territories, usually larger than the states which ultimately emerged, and Congress appointed a governor to rule them. The governor was instructed to divide the territories into counties and set up county government.⁸ So a strong system of local government was established in closely and

sparsely settled areas, in the rich lands of the old West and in the desert states of the far West; in areas where the United States Army was chiefly responsible for defence and the settlers lived on their farms and not in villages.⁹ The spread of local government in the United States can give little comfort to those who argue that specific geographical or environmental factors are necessary for the development of strong local bodies.

There are good reasons for doubting whether the Australian population was as sparse and scattered as Hancock and Portus would have liked us to believe. Certainly their efforts to demonstrate this quality are not very convincing. To obtain a figure of the density of the Australian population Portus divides the population by the total area of the continent, two thirds or more of which was virtually uninhabited.¹⁰ To highlight the problem of distance in Australia Hancock points out that there was in 1929 no doctor between Hawker in South Australia and Darwin, a distance of 1,300 miles.¹¹ But the situation in the dead heart of Australia was scarcely typical of rural settlement generally: the great majority of country people did not have to rely on the services of the Flying Doctor. When they are not talking of desert country, Hancock and Portus, and following them A. G. Austin,¹² direct our attention almost exclusively to rural settlements; yet the distinctive characteristic of nineteenth century Australia was the high degree of urbanisation. All the people in towns and cities were not sparse and scattered. Even when applied to rural areas their arguments fail to

convince. Portus and Austin argue that settlement was too sparse for local people to control education; yet the very existence of a school indicates that settlement is not so sparse that ten, fifteen, or twenty children cannot come together in one place. If children could walk or ride each day to school what was to stop their parents and their neighbours from gathering once a month to conduct the school's affairs?

In South Australia country people seem to have experienced little difficulty in building and maintaining their own churches. From 1851 no government money was provided to subsidise local effort, yet every township could boast two or three substantial churches, and hundreds more were built in the open countryside, standing alone at the side of the road or where two roads met.¹³ If the conditions of settlement did not prevent country people from building churches, could they have stopped them from building schools?

The argument about sparsity of population is used indiscriminately to explain both the absence and the weakness of local government. But surely the presence of local government bodies with however few powers fatally damages the argument which depends for its strength on a picture of rural life where people live so far from their neighbours that they cannot come together to do anything for themselves. The history of district councils in South Australia shows clearly that there was nothing in the geography of settlement of that colony to prevent the rural population from coming together to control local

affairs.

The District Councils Act was passed in 1852. Councils were to be proclaimed by the Governor, but only at the request of the potential ratepayers who were to send in a petition defining the boundaries of the council and naming those whom they wanted to be the first councillors.¹⁴ Within a year of the passing of this measure twenty-four districts had formed councils.¹⁵ In 1870 councils were operating throughout all the settled areas to the north and south of the capital. The larger towns and places which thought they would become large were incorporated separately as municipal corporations. The chief task of the councils was to conduct and maintain district roads and bridges. They also established pounds, registered dogs, and issued licences for the cutting of timber, the slaughtering of cattle, the quarrying of stone and sand; they could appoint district constables, and before 1876 they could grant money to support education in their district.¹⁶

In the settled areas after 1870 there was not the same readiness to form councils. Great tracts of the new wheat lands remained without local government. This was chiefly because the settlers had less need for councils: the government after 1875 was borrowing heavily to provide the farmers with railways, and money was also spent on roads to serve them. By contrast, the older districts were settled before governments were spending so freely, and since they were in hilly terrain they had particular need for good district roads which councils

alone could supply. In the South East, too, large areas were not served by local government. Here councils operated in the towns and their immediate environs, but not beyond because the squatters had used their influence to keep their large freeholds out of the rate books.¹⁷

The new wheat lands and the pastoral districts in the South East were less closely settled than the older districts where district councils were ubiquitous. However, the density of population in these areas was not so low as to prohibit the formation of local government bodies. This became evident within a few weeks of the passage of the District Councils Act of 1887.¹⁸

This Act empowered the Government to form councils without waiting for the local inhabitants to take the initiative. The schedule of the Act listed councils which the Government planned to form immediately. These were in the new wheat lands, and on Eyre Peninsula, where wheat farming was established but not yet extensive. Some existing councils were to have their territory extended: by this means part of the wheat lands and all the South East were to be brought under local government. Thomas Playford led the Government which passed this Act. He himself took charge of putting it into effect. He wrote to councils whose territory had been enlarged asking them to nominate extra councillors if they thought they were required. Of course at the next annual elections the new portions of the district would elect councillors: the nomination of the new men was to give them

representation until then. In each of the new districts Playford chose a well known and respected citizen and asked him to call a public meeting to select the men to be installed as the first council. If for any reason those selected did not seem to represent the district fairly, Playford ignored the wishes of the meeting, sought further information from his local representative, and proclaimed a council which he considered would give general satisfaction. Within less than two months he had all the new councils established. It was a notable administrative achievement.¹⁹

Playford's task was made easier because he enjoyed the confidence of the farmers on account of his sympathetic administration of the Crown Lands department in previous governments; and his own experience in rural local government and in the Association of District Council Chairmen gave him an intimate knowledge of how local politics worked. But even with these advantages Playford surely could not have prevailed if the density of settlement exercised the inhibiting influence suggested by Portus, Hancock and others. The ease with which councils were created tells heavily against their argument. On Eyre Peninsula after 1887 councils governed areas with a population density of much less than one person per square mile.²⁰

Of course even in the most closely settled rural districts settlement was more sparse than it was in rural England. Nor were there, as in England, numbers of leisured country gentlemen with plenty of time to devote to local government. South Australians sometimes commented on the sparsity of their population and the difficulty of

finding men willing to serve as J.P.'s. Yet in their district councils they maintained the whole machinery of government: elections were held; taxes levied, collected, and spent; men hired and fired. If councils built roads, bridges and council chambers, employed clerks and surveyors, what was it that stopped them building court houses and schools, and employing policemen, teachers and overseers of the poor? Why did the central government discharge these responsibilities?

Though central government control of public utilities and the weakness of local government cannot be linked together as joint products of sparsity of settlement, they can be viewed as part of one tradition. By the 1870s the practice of central government involvement in a wide range of activities was well established. Thus it can be argued, for instance, that because central government already controlled railways and telegraph it was more ready to assume full and direct control of education in 1875.²¹ The tradition of central control can be traced back beyond the assumption of responsibility for public utilities to the very earliest days of settlement. In his account of the growth of central government powers, Hancock gives some weight to the tradition of omni-competence established by the early military governments of Australia.²² Portus, however, stakes all on sparsity of settlement and the weakness of the native population. To prove the irrelevance of the military tradition he cites the case of South Australia which was founded by free men and yet still developed a strong central government.²³

This is an unfortunate reference indeed. From the very beginning, the government of South Australia was involved in activities which in Britain were left to local government or private institutions. The South Australian government did not have to control convicts, but its founders had given it a special responsibility for assisted emigrants. This led it into accepting the novel responsibility of caring for the sick and destitute.

The first labourers who were persuaded to migrate to South Australia were promised by the Colonization Commissioners that they would always be employed by the government if they could not find work elsewhere. In Adelaide the government interpreted this to mean that it should also support emigrants who could not work because of sickness or other causes. They received rations, medical aid, and if the whole family were sick a nurse was sent to look after them. The Emigration Agent also buried pauper emigrants who died in Adelaide or at the Emigration Depot, which had become in effect the first asylum for the destitute. Special houses were set aside at Emigration Square, as the Depot was called, to accommodate destitute widows and their children. When the colony went bankrupt Governor Grey could no longer fulfil the promise to provide work for the emigrants, but he continued to supply relief, though on a much reduced scale. In 1842 he appointed a Board of Emigration to administer it.²⁴ This was the precursor of the later Destitute Boards. Though aid was arranged in the first place for government sponsored emigrants, it was impossible to discriminate,

and the Board gave relief to all. But for a long time the Register of Admissions to the Destitute Asylum contained a column to record the ship by which the applicant came to the colony. For some people admitted after 1870 the entry in this column reads "native-born".²⁵

In a similar way the government became responsible for the Adelaide Hospital. Governor Hindmarsh had appointed a Colonial Surgeon and established a hospital to care for sick emigrants. Later governments tried to induce the public to subscribe to the hospital, but with little success. Almost all its funds were supplied by the government and the Adelaide Hospital Board was in effect a government instrumentality.²⁶

The Emigration Agent and the Emigration Board dealt with the destitute in and around Adelaide, but the Board's area of responsibility expanded with the extension of settlement. In the period 1870-1914 the Board in Adelaide was responsible for the destitute and the destitute sick throughout the colony.²⁷ The Destitute Asylum in the city remained the only institution providing indoor relief. Country people who were eligible for admission were brought to Adelaide at the Board's expense. Outdoor relief in the form of rations - bread, meat, and groceries - was given to the sick and disabled, and to widows and deserted wives with children. The destitute in Adelaide collected their rations at the store of the Asylum. In the country they were issued with orders on local storekeepers. To supervise the distribution of relief in the country the Board relied on councils and corporations and, in their

absence, on stipendiary magistrates, J.P.'s and the police.²⁸

Applicants for relief applied to them and they forwarded a detailed report on the applicant's position to the Board. If the application were successful the Board returned an appropriate number of orders for distribution at weekly intervals. These country agencies of the Board were allowed very little discretion. The most corporations and councils could do of their own initiative was to order the issue of one week's rations in emergencies. The administration of country relief was examined twice a year by the Board's travelling inspector. After his visits the Board usually struck some names off the ration list.²⁹

In Adelaide and a few larger country towns the government appointed medical officers - who were generally attached to a government hospital - and part of their duties was to care for the destitute sick, either in their homes or as outpatients at the hospital. In all the smaller country centres the Destitute Board paid the local doctor a retainer in return for attendance on the destitute sick. When the sick had to be taken to hospital, which frequently meant the Adelaide Hospital, the Board had to pay their fares. The various agents of the Board in the country - mayors, council chairmen, justices and policemen - issued the destitute with passes so they could travel free by coach, ship, or train.

The writ of the Board ran throughout the settled districts and into the outback regions as well. Here its agents were the mounted

policemen. The police buried men who had died in the bush and took sick bushmen to hospital - and sent their bill of expenses to the Board in Adelaide.³⁰ Fortunately for the outback population the Board had no respect for the principles of a law of settlement. In 1903 the doctor at Bordertown wrote asking the Board whether he was expected to attend swagmen and tramps who might become ill while passing through the district. The answer was quite clear. He was expected to treat any destitute person whether resident or not. Other doctors in the Board's employ did so without question.³¹

The extent of the Board's outreach was remarkable. In the latter part of 1890 it received telegrams from the police troopers at Fowler's Bay in the far west and at Alice Springs in the Northern Territory seeking permission to send sick bushmen to hospital. Permission was granted.³² The Northern Territory bushman had been found "paralysed and speechless" at Tempe Downs west of Alice Springs. He was taken by buggy to the northern railway, a nightmare journey of nineteen days which cost the Board 25/- per day. The train then took him to the Port Augusta hospital. Later he was transferred to the Destitute Asylum in Adelaide, where he died four months after admission.³³ Mateship may have been the creed of these outback regions, but when its denizens were too old or sick to work, their best friends were the troopers and the Destitute Board in the city.

In his annual report for 1882 the Chairman of the Destitute Board declared it was time the administration of poor relief was

decentralised. He wanted the burden of relief transferred to local authorities: once the local poor were being supported by local money the administration of relief would become "more careful and discriminating".³⁴ A Royal Commission set up to examine the Civil Service endorsed these views in 1888. The Commissioners were prepared to allow the central government to subsidise money which councils spent on relief, but they, too, were pleased at the prospect of each ratepayer becoming an "inspecting officer" when the central government no longer provided all the funds for the relief of the poor.³⁵ Parliaments and governments ignored these recommendations and the system remained unchanged.³⁶

The origin of the destitute administration can be traced back to London. The police force, which also remained a responsibility of the central government, was established very early in the colony's history when the central government was the only governing authority. It was set up in 1839 by Governor Gawler to deal with the influx of criminals from the east.³⁷ The duties of the force changed, it expanded with the growth of settlement, and it continued to be controlled by a Commissioner in Adelaide. After 1869 towns were required to pay half the cost of maintaining foot constables,³⁸ but the mounted troopers, who were the typical rural policemen, were maintained solely by the central government.

The tradition of control by the central government was certainly established early, and it is easy to regard all later additions to its

responsibilities as "natural" extensions of its original role. But why was the tradition accepted almost without question? What were the forces which maintained and extended it? An analysis of the decisions taken in the 1870s about the powers of central and local government will help to answer these questions. In the matters of poor relief and police, parliament merely continued practices begun long before responsible government, but new decisions were required of it in the 1870s on the control of main roads, public health and education. The apportioning of responsibility between central and local bodies will be traced in each of these matters.

Main Roads

For six successive years, from 1869 to 1874, the House of Assembly debated proposals to amend the Main Roads Act. Finally in 1874 a Bill became law.³⁹ The problem which it took so long to solve can be stated simply: more money had to be found for the construction and maintenance of main roads. Until 1874 a Central Road Board, created by Governor Young in the forties, constructed and maintained main roads out of funds allocated to it by parliament. By the late sixties the Board had to spend so much of its allocation on maintaining the roads which it had built in the areas around Adelaide that there was little available for the construction of new roads to serve more recently settled districts. In 1866 and 1867 regional boards had been appointed to serve three remote districts, Eyre Peninsula, the far North inland from Port Augusta, and the South East,⁴⁰ but there were still areas

within the Central Board's jurisdiction without roads and with little hope of getting them, and new boards solved nothing unless they were given ample funds. However, since the economy, and hence general revenue, were depressed, governments were unable to increase the main road allocation. From 1869 they were asking parliaments to agree to new taxation to provide the necessary finance for an adequate road network.

The Government's proposal in 1869 was that when finance from other sources was insufficient a tax would be levied on all alienated land, assessed at so much an acre, to pay for roads. Before a Bill could be introduced the House rejected this policy.⁴¹ Under the proposals brought forward in 1870, 1871 and 1872 the colony was to be divided into a number of road districts each with its own road board which was to construct roads from funds voted by parliament and maintain them by levying a land tax assessed on value, not acreage. Members of the boards were to be elected by the corporations and councils within the district. If there were large areas within the district without local government, the government would nominate men to represent them, and reduce the number to be elected by corporations and councils. All board members were to be resident in the road district. These plans aroused strong opposition. In 1870 the Bill was dropped after a first reading; in 1871 a Bill reached the second reading stage but was again dropped; in 1872 it survived long enough to be thrown out on the motion that it be read a second time.⁴² In 1873 the Government attempted to

make the Bill more palatable. It proposed to subsidise shilling for shilling the amounts raised by rates for maintenance, and just before the House voted the Minister said he would be prepared to drop the rating clauses, but the vote still went against him.⁴³ The reason why Ministers could offer to subsidise rating and to consider abandoning it altogether was that prosperity had returned and receipts from revenue had risen. In 1874 the Government felt its financial position to be so strong that it introduced a Road Bill setting up local boards, but providing that the boards' funds for both construction and maintenance should be voted by parliament. There was no provision for local rating. The government was to appoint two members to each board, and corporations and councils to elect three. The parliament was prepared to agree.⁴⁴

A variety of arguments was directed against the earlier, unsuccessful Bills by politicians, the press and numerous indignation meetings. The inequality of a tax based on acreage, under which a farmer would have paid more than the owner of a city block, helped to damn the 1869 scheme. But subsequently when the proposed tax was to be levied according to value, the City of Adelaide was up in arms declaiming against the inequality of a proposal which would make it contribute 37% of the funds to the road district of which it was the centre, though only three miles of main roads ran within the corporation's boundaries. Extra votes in the election of the boards were promised in the Bills to corporations with an assessment higher than £20,000, and

Ministers pointed out that Adelaide benefited from roads other than those within its boundaries; but the City remained opposed to the Bills.⁴⁵ In the country farmers complained that they would be maintaining roads which were used largely by the squatters whose leaseholds were not taxable and by carters who might not own land. New districts asked why they should be taxed when older districts had had roads constructed and maintained for so long at the expense of the general revenue. Hilly districts where roads were important were jealous of more open districts which could rely on railways, built and maintained at the public expense.⁴⁶ The clear headed opponents of the Bills summed up these arguments concisely: everyone benefited from roads, they said, so they should be a charge upon general revenue.⁴⁷ If general revenue were inadequate, let it be augmented - income taxes, stamp duties, a tax on absentees were all suggested as possibilities. As one supporter of the Road Bills remarked, it was easy to support a tax not then under consideration.⁴⁸ Behind all the arguments of the Road Bills' opponents there was a simple disinclination to pay extra taxation, a determination shared by those unable to formulate arguments. Governments asked the people to pay a road tax because hard times had reduced their revenue; because times were hard the people were less inclined to accept new burdens. The impasse was only resolved by the return of prosperity.

The Act of 1874 created eight district road boards. This plan, first introduced in 1870, was presumably designed by the then Government

to make taxation for roads more palatable, but when every objectionable feature of the Bills was being sought out to condemn them, the multiplying of boards was criticised as expensive. Though the rule of the old Central Road Board had been attacked for being too centralised, this seems to have been an economic rather than an administrative criticism: settlers in newer areas thought too much was being spent on roads near Adelaide. As we have seen the Central Road Board had to spend a large part of its allocation near Adelaide unless it were to neglect roads already built. Presumably the settlers without roads could have been satisfied by an increased grant to the Central Board, with perhaps a direction from the parliament on how much should be spent in the various districts. Instead, eight separate road boards were created and the funds available for roads allocated between them by the government. This was a result more of legislative habit than considered policy. For four years from 1870 Bills providing for local boards and local rating were before the House, and in 1874 the Government merely dropped the rating clause and left the Bill substantially the same. However, it did have some doubts about the creation of local boards. In 1873 and 1874 it suggested to the House that the new Central Board, which was to control a much smaller area than the old, should construct roads in two adjacent districts which would allow for the full employment of the skilled personnel acquired by the old Board and reduce the expenses of the new boards adjacent. Objections were raised to this in and outside the House, and the Bill was amended

to make each board a construction as well as a maintenance authority. The Association of District Council Chairmen which had formerly condemned Road Bills roundly, with no indication that it approved in principle of local boards, now spoke out in favour of this amendment.⁴⁹ Presumably they found some satisfaction in the prospect of managing their own affairs when the money was to be supplied by the government.

But of course it could only be a very limited satisfaction. The administration of the boards was under the close surveillance of the government to which they had to submit regularly the minutes of their meetings, and their account books. They could not alter the salaries of their employees or dismiss them without the approval of the Minister. The government appointed at least two members⁵⁰ to each five member board. How much money they had to spend and which roads were to be the main roads were decided by the government and parliament. All this was provided for in the Act, but the control of the government extended even further. People dissatisfied with any aspect of a board's administration complained direct to the government, and so the boards received from the Minister requests for explanations, and suggestions about policy.⁵¹ When boards could not or would not devote money for some pet local scheme, the inhabitants petitioned the government for a special grant, and if their application were successful the money for the work was then transmitted to the board. If their funds were low, boards anxious to help would suggest this course to their constituents, and they themselves were frequent

petitioners to the government for extra grants.⁵² If people had wanted a more independent role for their boards than this, they would have had to be prepared to submit to local taxation, without which the amount of real local control was bound to be minimal.

Public Health

The summer of 1870-71 was unusually warm. In the city and its suburbs the smell of tanneries, boiling-down works, candle factories, and the refuse dumped in the parklands became particularly offensive. Gentlemen in Adelaide found it even harder to bear because when a cool change arrived the wind blew from the west where the offensive trades were concentrated. In January 1871 the Adelaide City Council appointed a nuisance committee to examine the problem,⁵³ and invited interested parties from the suburban corporations and councils to attend its meetings. After convincing itself that corporations did not have sufficient power to deal with nuisances, the committee determined to get the Government to act. Its first request was for the appointment of Central and Local Boards of Health, supported out of general revenue, with the government undertaking to compensate the owners of any noxious trades which might have to be suppressed within a ten mile radius of the G.P.O. The Government was horrified at this proposal. It objected to its cost, and the unwillingness of the corporations to bear any responsibility. The Chief Secretary declared that the corporations already had ample powers to deal with nuisances.⁵⁴ For this opinion he was roundly condemned by the Observer, which pointed

out that legal advice given to the Mitcham Council showed that councils and corporations did not have strong powers.⁵⁵ The Chronicle reported with glee that the Chief Secretary had to hurry past the Dulwich Bone Mill one evening when the stench was high.⁵⁶ Both the metropolitan papers urged the adoption of a Public Health Bill to make Adelaide a more salubrious city.

Despite his earlier views the Chief Secretary eventually told the committee that the Government would be prepared to grant new public health powers to corporations and councils but that it would accept no liability for compensation. The committee replied that it still thought compensation should come from general revenue, but it would not object if the principle of compensation were struck out of the proposed Bill. One member said the country districts could hardly be expected to agree to general revenue being used to compensate factory owners in Adelaide, and there was a general agreement that they should not jeopardise the Bill by insisting on this point.⁵⁷ Though the terms of the Bill were settled, the Mayor of Adelaide was not yet convinced that the Government would proceed with the measure. At the Assembly elections in December 1871 he stood and was returned for West Adelaide, the first point in his programme being the creation of a Board of Health to stop the "poisoning" of families in the city and suburbs.⁵⁸

During 1872 the Government prepared a Bill, but it was not introduced owing to the "press of business". In March 1873 the

nuisance committee waited on the Chief Secretary again and he promised to introduce the Bill early in the coming session.⁵⁹ Before parliament met the Chief Secretary and his Government resigned, but the new Premier, Arthur Blyth, had accompanied the deputation from the nuisance committee in March and had supported their cause. He introduced a Public Health Bill in August.⁶⁰ The Bill declared the town council of each corporation to be a Local Board of Health.⁶¹ The City of Adelaide, its most populous suburbs, and a few country towns were thus provided with a local health authority. District councils could be declared local boards as the government saw fit. To supervise the administration of the local boards a Central Board of Health was created with wide powers. It could oblige a local authority to appoint an Officer of Health who was to be a doctor or an analytical chemist. If a local board were not performing its duties satisfactorily the Central Board could direct it to act, and if it refused it could in the last resort take over the powers of the local board and act at the local board's expense. The extent of these powers can be gauged by a comparison with the British legislation of the same period. Though the Local Government Board in Britain could force local authorities to appoint a health officer, it could only interfere with the administration of the local authority if a complaint was lodged by someone in the locality. This was a severe restriction upon central control.⁶²

The South Australian Bill of 1873 passed both Houses with large majorities. It was opposed strongly by James Boucaut, who

represented an electorate west of the city where many noxious trades were carried on; two Adelaide brewers; and three others of whom two were probably chiefly interested in displaying their loyalty to Boucaut.⁶³ Boucaut denounced the legislation as "tyrannical and unconstitutional" because of the supreme powers given to the Central Board. He asked the country members whether they would consent to Mayors and corporations being made into dummies.⁶⁴ Until included in Boucaut's speech as a rhetorical device, country towns had not been mentioned in regard to public health proposals. The form which the Bill took meant that country corporations were made into local boards of health; but this was almost accidental: the measure had been pressed on the Government by men whose sole interest was in the health of the city and suburbs. The country had made no requests about public health, nor was it roused to condemn the Bill at Boucaut's call. Most members, of course, sat for country seats. Of those who actually lived in the country only one was implacably opposed to the Bill;⁶⁵ four voted for an amendment, which was easily defeated, to allow local boards to elect some of the Central Board's members,⁶⁶ and the rest supported the Bill as it was, or were indifferent. Of those living in Adelaide and representing country seats all who spoke or voted did so in support of the Bill. One of these was Randolph Stow, who followed Boucaut in the debate. He complained of the boiling down works at Hilton whose "filthy emanations" were carried by the breeze to his residence on North Adelaide hill, and said he would support any measure, however strong, to put down

smells. He expressed no views on how the legislation would affect the Corporation of Kapunda, the chief town of his electorate.⁶⁷

Other city men similarly spoke as if their constituency were the district in which they lived.⁶⁸

One city man, Krichauff, who sat for Onkaparinga, did consider how the legislation would operate in the country, but his mind ran in the opposite direction from Boucaut's. He was afraid that the government might only use the power to make district councils into boards of health after the inhabitants had sent in a memorial requesting it, and if so, he thought few boards would be created. To cater for the towns within district councils he proposed an amendment to give the Central Board power to act directly where there were no local boards. The amendment was passed without debate, and members had increased the powers of the Central Board enormously, probably without realising what they had done.⁶⁹ Surely Boucaut should have denounced this - was it not more tyrannical to allow the Central Board to have full powers over smaller towns than to give it the right to interfere with corporations?

To members living in Adelaide, and they were the majority, the question of local versus central control was irrelevant. Except for the two brewers, their livelihoods as merchants, financiers, and professional men were not threatened by the Bill. Manufacturing played only a small part in Adelaide's wealth and it was never strongly represented in parliament. When these members thought of public health they thought

of Adelaide's health and more particularly the nuisances which afflicted their own residences. They could not see a Central Board with strong powers as a foreign or tyrannical body - would it not be composed of Adelaide gentlemen like themselves, and might it not make their lives more comfortable? As a by-product of their determination to make Adelaide healthy they gave the Central Board power over the country as well. Three years after the first Act was passed, an amending Act tightened the control of the Central Board and confirmed its right to act in areas where there was no local health authority.⁷⁰

In the years which followed the Central Board made several local corporations appoint health officers and it occasionally served orders on them, but generally it preferred to keep this power in reserve to add force to its requests and recommendations.⁷¹ Though it frequently complained of laxity in local administration, the Board was able to report some improvement in the health of corporate towns. Here local interest was being stimulated by central activity. But this was a slow and painful process which the Board was glad to be able to avoid with the towns in district Council areas. To deal with the health of these towns the Board had two alternatives: it could arrange to have the district council in which the town was situated proclaimed a local board of health, or it could exercise direct control over them. The Board invariably chose the second course. In parts of the wheatlands it had no choice because

there were no district councils. The Board's inspector visited towns and villages throughout the colony leaving behind him notices for the abatement of nuisances. To keep a watch on public health between visits of its inspector the Board enlisted the co-operation of the police, who reported nuisances and issued notices in the Board's name. New towns on the edge of settlement were not left long before they came within the Central Board's care.⁷² Though the Central Board could be thwarted in the corporate towns, over all other country towns and villages it exercised powers such as Chadwick had only dreamed of.

Education

In the early 1870s three attempts were made to give South Australia a new education system. A Bill of 1871 lapsed because of a dissolution; the Upper House threw out the Education Bill of 1873; and finally in 1875 a Bill providing for a comprehensive and compulsory system of education became law.⁷³ The Act established one central authority similar to those the other colonies had or were to adopt, an authority which built the schools, trained the teachers, and paid their salaries. From 1875 all public education was controlled from Adelaide. The assumption of this responsibility marked the greatest increase in the power of the central government in the period 1870-1914. It provides a good opportunity for examining the forces making for centralisation because the new Act replaced a system in which local residents had played a considerable part.

The system superseded in 1875 had been established by the old Legislative Council in 1851. In that year the Council abolished government aid to the various religious denominations for both their churches and their schools. All government expenditure was to be controlled by a Central Board of Education, which was to assist only those schools which supplied "good secular instruction, based on the Christian Religion; apart from all theological and controversial differences on discipline and doctrine" and where no denominational catechism was used.⁷⁴ The voluntarist party would have liked to abolish all state aid to education. Though they were unsuccessful, they continued their opposition, conceding only that perhaps in a new country schools should be helped in rural areas.⁷⁵ Their attitude is reflected in the 1851 Act and its subsequent administration.

One of the two ways in which the Central Board could spend the educational grant was in assisting local government bodies or groups of citizens to build schoolhouses. Money raised by councils and corporations or by an ad hoc committee of trustees for building and furnishing a schoolhouse was subsidized on a pound for pound basis by the Central Board. Before the grant was made the Board had to approve a deed of trust vesting the schoolhouse in the council, municipal corporation, or the local committee - these buildings were accordingly known as the vested schools. By 1873 there were one hundred vested schools throughout the colony. Sixty-three of these buildings included a residence for the teacher.⁷⁶

The Act only allowed the Board to subsidize amounts up to £200. Unless residents were prepared to contribute money which would not be subsidized, £400 was thus the maximum amount available for a vested schoolhouse. Since this was not sufficient to provide a schoolhouse for all the children in a larger town, vested schoolhouses were built mainly in the smaller country towns and in the villages on the outskirts of the Adelaide area.⁷⁷ In these places it was often only the provision of a schoolhouse and residence which could secure the permanent services of a good teacher.⁷⁸ The money for the vested schools was raised by concerts, subscription lists, and bazaars. District councils contributed to the cost out of rates, and in at least one instance a special education rate was levied by a council to pay for a new school.⁷⁹ Even in the early 1870s, when a new Education Act and an increased government expenditure were clearly imminent, money was still being contributed for vested schools. In old areas schools were closed as people moved away to new lands, but in many of the new areas school committees were formed and buildings were begun not long after the first crops were reaped. In 1875 seven new schools were completed and five were in the course of construction.⁸⁰ Since the government only subsidised the initial cost of schoolhouses, some of the vested schools were not kept in good repair, though the inspector reported that they were generally in a better condition than the private schools.⁸¹ In 1874, as a result of the increased interest in education, the House of Assembly passed a motion for the granting of money for repairs and £1,500 was placed on the estimates to be distributed on a

pound for pound basis. Within less than six months trustees had raised enough money for nearly all this grant to have been allocated.⁸²

The second function of the Central Board was to license teachers and pay them a salary of between £40 and £100. All the teachers in the vested schools were licensed. They were appointed by the district councils or the committees of trustees, subject to the Board's approval. Licences were also sought by teachers who had set up school on their own initiative or by invitation of the parents. If the Board considered that the school was fulfilling a need, that the teacher was competent, and that the parents were happy with him, the licence and the salary were granted.⁸³ It was by the licensing of teachers in this way that the Board assisted education in Adelaide and the larger towns, since so few of the vested schools were built in these places. But voluntarist pressure and the general reluctance of parliament to vote money meant that this assistance to the larger towns was always under threat, and on several occasions had to be reduced. Between 1861 and 1873 the number of licensed schools in the City of Adelaide declined from thirty-two to twelve, and the number of pupils taught dropped by half.⁸⁴

Under the 1851 Act district councils were also invited to visit and inspect any vested or licensed school within their area. The most opportune time for their visit was when, in accordance with the Board's regulation, the teacher held the annual public examination

of his scholars. The questioning was viva voce, and parents and friends were also invited to hear the children perform. The examiners were usually local men, ministers of religion and chairmen of district councils being those most commonly chosen. When the examiners had completed their gruelling task, they addressed the gathering and presented the prizes, which were often provided by the councils from rate money. The tone of the proceedings then changed markedly. A feast was spread, games were played, and to conclude the day everyone crowded back into the schoolroom for a lantern lecture or songs and recitations.⁸⁵ Sometime in the next few days the examiners composed a report on the school and the scholars, and sent it to the Central Board. "It is true", said the Board one year, "that occasionally it has happened that an examiner has taken part in proceedings who did not appear altogether qualified to judge of the literary work of the school; but, upon the whole, there has been little cause for complaint".⁸⁶

Only a minority of the district councils took an active interest in education. In many areas neither the residents nor the district council bothered to build a school. But there was enough local interest to belie the assertion of the historians of education that local administration was impossible in the Australia of the 1870s. At this time in South Australia settlers in new areas were building schools, and the spending of money voted for repairs showed that old districts could be encouraged to further effort.

What disturbed the old Education Board most in the last years

of its life was not the situation in the country but the failure of the old legislation to provide good schoolhouses for the larger towns. That after twenty years' operation the Board could not point to one public schoolhouse in the City of Adelaide or its immediate suburbs was felt to be the greatest shame of all.⁸⁷ The parliaments which debated the Education Bills were composed chiefly of men who lived in Adelaide.⁸⁸ Like all the other residents of the city, they saw the hundreds of children who roamed the streets so conspicuously not attending either licensed or private school. Fortunately something could be done about this situation without any new legislation. The old Education Act provided that the Board could build a Model School in Adelaide, which was to assist in the training of teachers. At various times parliament and the Board had prepared to take advantage of this provision, but nothing had eventuated. In the early 1870s this lethargy vanished. The Model School opened in Adelaide in 1873 in a new building with a staff of trained teachers. Eight hundred children came from all over the metropolitan area to attend, and they were encouraged to attend regularly because there was a long list of rejected applicants anxious to take their place.⁸⁹ Everyone was delighted with this achievement. It was a model of what could be done by a central administration with ample funds. The special need of the metropolis was a powerful stimulus to the creation of a strong central authority in education, just as it was in the case of public health.

In the Bill of 1871 the Government was not proposing a

comprehensive scheme; it planned to act where the need was greatest.⁹⁰ In Adelaide and "other centres of population" the Board was empowered to build and staff national schools for the children of the poor, who were to pay a penny a week in fees. Elsewhere the system of vested schools was to remain substantially the same except that after one year aid was not to be given to schools vested in ad hoc committees. Provision was made for these to be transferred to a district council, a corporation, or the Board itself. Difficulties had frequently arisen in the administration of these schools after the original trustees had died or moved from the district. Councils and corporations were to be the only recognised local authorities to ensure that the vested school system would function more smoothly. The Board was given "the entire control and management" of the national schools, but over the vested schools it was to exercise only "general supervision". District councils and corporations were given power to pass by-laws compelling attendance at school, and they were also to decide whether the Bible should be read in class. This Bill was introduced late in the session and before the second reading speeches had been completed the Government was defeated. After a short time the new Government obtained a dissolution, and the Bill lapsed.

The Bill had been received most unfavourably. Boucaut, the leader of the Opposition, criticised the Government for attempting to evade its responsibilities by allowing councils and corporations to decide on Bible reading and compulsion. He insisted that parliament must make one rule on these matters for the whole colony.⁹¹

In this he was widely supported in the House and by the press.

Both the Advertiser and the Register declared confidently that few if any districts would ever vote to make education compulsory.

Compulsion, they said, would have to be enforced by central authority.⁹²

The Advertiser ridiculed the proposal that "bodies of men appointed to attend to roads and culverts and other similar works" should be allowed to decide such an important matter as Bible reading in schools.⁹³ A difficulty which the critics of the Bill had to overcome was that the British Education Act of 1870 allowed the various School Boards to decide on the type of religious instruction and whether education should be compulsory. The Register dealt with the difficulty boldly. It was adamant that the British solution of the religious issue should be avoided at all costs. It decried the "act of cowardice" of the Gladstone ministry in leaving the matter to be settled locally, thus causing "polemical rancour in religious animosities ... in all the large centres of population in England".⁹⁴

The Bill was also criticised because the Government did not plan to provide schools for everyone. The national schools were only for the poor, and in rural areas the initiative was left to the residents. The Government's answer was that nothing more could be afforded.⁹⁵ Some of the critics replied that an education rate should be levied to pay for a more comprehensive system. Discussion ended before the critics had explained clearly who was to collect the rate and how it was to be spent. Boucaut seemed to envisage a central board providing

schools and then requiring residents to pay for them.⁹⁶ The Register proposed that the Government should declare education compulsory and leave local authorities to raise the money for the schools that would be needed.⁹⁷ Since these schemes of the two leading advocates of the education rate would have immediately forced a high rate on to all settled districts, one can understand the Government's declaration that the electorate would not accept the critics' proposals.⁹⁸ If the experience of other countries is any guide, the only sure way to win acceptance for an education rate was for the initial legislation to be permissive. This is just what the critics would have been unwilling to accept, because it was they who wanted good schools established quickly in every district of the colony. Had the financial situation remained the same they would probably have been forced to accept a solution similar to the 1871 Bill which allowed for a considerable measure of local control. To please the critics it would have been possible to empower the Central Board, and not councils and corporations, to take decisions on Bible reading and compulsion,⁹⁹ but so long as part of the cost of schools had to be met locally, some degree of local control had to be conceded. Fortunately for the cause of the zealots, the state of the public finances improved greatly after 1871.

The revenue collected at the Customs House first reflected the return to prosperity after the lull of the late 1860s: between 1871 and 1876 it almost doubled.¹⁰⁰ Then, while it remained steady

at a high level for the rest of the decade, the receipts from land sales rose rapidly, swollen by payments for the huge areas taken up under the Selection Acts in the early 1870s.¹⁰¹ By 1873 the Government was able to announce that it could provide education for all the colony's children without any increase in taxation.¹⁰² Once the central government could pay for a comprehensive system it was difficult to argue for an education rate or local management. By 1875 both Boucaut and the Register had abandoned their advocacy of rating. "No local representation without local taxation" was one of the most effective arguments used against the few who wanted more local control than the Bills of 1873 and 1875 allowed.¹⁰³

There was scarcely any opposition in 1873 or 1875 to the proposed centralised system. There was no demand outside the House for local control.¹⁰⁴ In the House the few attempts that were made to give more local participation and control were opposed strongly and defeated easily. The arguments which had been used against the 1871 Bill were employed to support its successors. The majority of members rejoiced in a system which could not be endangered by the ignorance of local people or the dissension which might accompany local elections. They refused to allow the possibility of local variation in order that efficiency and uniformity might prevail.¹⁰⁵

In each year only one member consistently advocated local control - in 1873, Pearce, a merchant from Kapunda; and in 1875, Robert Ross, a retired British army officer living near Adelaide who had only

recently arrived in the colony. They were both concerned to extend the powers of the Boards of Advice, the local bodies to which the Bills of 1873 and 1875 assigned the very limited tasks of visiting and reporting on the conditions of the schools and assisting the central authority in enforcing compulsion.

During the debate in committee on the 1873 Bill Pearce moved that the local Boards of Advice should appoint the teachers, and the central authority should be limited to training and classifying them. The Government opposed the amendment, and Bunday, a lawyer zealous for educational improvement, spoke strongly against it. Ignoring the fact that Pearce only wanted the local boards to choose from those already trained and classified, he said: "It was well known that numbers of persons who examined schools ... were [not] competent to examine children, and if that was the case they could not be competent to examine teachers ... the responsibility should rest with the Minister. If it was placed on Local Boards they might as well do away with the Bill at once". Pearce finally allowed himself to be fobbed off with assurances that the central authority would be bound to listen to suggestions from the local boards.¹⁰⁶

He was always isolated in an education debate. In 1871, surrounded by members clamouring for strong central authorities, he commented that the people took more interest in education than honorable members seemed to realise.¹⁰⁷

The 1873 Bill at least provided for the election of the Boards

of Advice. But in 1875 the Government proposed that such boards should be appointed by the Governor in Council, to avoid the possibility of sectarian conflict at elections and to ensure that the boards did not attempt to become boards of control in defiance of the central authority.¹⁰⁸ In committee this clause was opposed strenuously by Robert Ross, who moved an amendment providing for the election of the boards and a clearer definition of their duties. He argued that since education was to be secular and not denominational there was no force in the claim that election would provoke sectarian strife, unless the Government were suggesting that ministers of religion and the local residents would openly defy the law. This was one of the most spirited speeches in the whole debate:

He had pointed out before that the system proposed would be far too governmental, and that it would be pure and simple State education. The parents of the children to be taught were to have no say in the matter, and for that reason he thought it unsuited to a country where they had free institutions and enjoyed representative government ... What reason could be assigned for introducing such an arbitrary and despotic principle? ... The Commissioner of Crown Lands thought that if the people were allowed to elect Boards of Advice they would elect incompetent men ... and that these men would be troublesome, setting up their little say against the central power; in fact, that they would be nuisances ... If the argument was worth anything it was opposed to the fitness of the people to elect District Councils, and that Act had worked well; and it might even be taken as an argument against the ability of the people to elect members of Parliament ... he would remind them that every despotism had originated in fear of the people. If the powers were given to the people he was sure that they would act rightly and within the four corners of the Act of Parliament.¹⁰⁹

In reply Ward, the Minister of Education, denied that any

Minister had implied that the people were too ignorant to be allowed to vote. If that was not the implication of the Government's argument, there were others who proclaimed quite openly that ignorance precluded local participation. Ward argued that the provision that the Bible might be read before school was quite sufficient to provoke sectarian strife at elections. Six other members joined the Minister in opposing the amendment, and only one spoke for it. In reply, Ross reminded members that they were going against the experience of all English-speaking countries. At the division twenty-four men cheerfully isolated themselves from the rest of British opinion, and Ross secured only two supporters for his amendment. Of all those who had argued against Ross, only the Minister took up the point that nominated Boards of Advice were incompatible with free institutions. His defence was that the people were represented in the House of Assembly and that gave them sufficient control over the education of their children. The rest of his opponents ignored the eloquent warnings about despotism and stolidly argued against the amendment on the grounds that it would cause religious dissension throughout the colony.¹¹⁰ This refusal to allow abstract considerations of right to enter discussions about administrative structure was typical of the debates. What everyone agreed on was the need to have well-built schoolhouses and good teachers - if the central administration would supply these, what could be said against it?

Once the central administration was established, local interest and participation were no longer required. Before 1875 those who appreciated the need for good schools had had to win the support of their neighbours. As late as February 1875 it is still possible to see this process at work at a meeting in Clarendon in the Adelaide Hills. The District Council called the meeting to seek approval for the levying of a special rate to build new schools in the district. The question of the need for schools and their cost was debated heatedly and the proposal for a rate was overwhelmingly defeated. A move to censure the Council for spending £50 on the conversion of an old chapel to a schoolroom was ruled out of order by the chairman.¹¹¹ This was almost certainly the last time education was ever discussed at a public meeting in Clarendon. Once the central government took over, new schools were built and run without the public having to be persuaded of their value.

After 1875 the district councils and the ad hoc committees were obliged to transfer their schools without compensation to the new central administration.¹¹² They lost the right to appoint their teacher. The gala days of the annual examination were no more. All schools were vested in the Minister and all examinations were conducted by the Inspector. In the cause of better education for all, localism had been swept away.

Accounts of the decisions taken on the control of roads in 1874 and of education in 1875 show how closely public finance was connected to the question of central versus local control. During the recession years at the end of the sixties and in the early seventies Governments proposed to establish road boards with power to levy rates. There was great opposition to these proposals, but had the financial situation remained unchanged, districts would have been obliged to submit to a local rate or go without roads. It was the return of prosperity and a larger government revenue which enabled the local rating schemes to be dropped. Nevertheless the regional road boards remained, an outstanding aberration, and a reminder of how the financial difficulties of the central government could threaten the tradition of central control. In education, the 1871 Bill, which left the vested school system and local control intact, was replaced in 1873 and 1875 by proposals for the government to bear the full cost and assume complete control of education. The affluence of the central government made local contributions unnecessary.

In explaining the weakness of local government in Australia some writers have made much of the unwillingness of country people to accept local taxation.¹¹³ The agitation against the various Road Bills certainly provides plenty of evidence of this unwillingness. By itself, however, this explains very little. The desire to avoid paying rates is scarcely unique. It was understandable that people - and especially those without roads - should complain when Governments

sought to introduce rates for a service which they had formerly provided themselves. The case was very different with education. Here the people had always known that to get a schoolhouse they would have to help pay for it. In such circumstances many districts showed they were not averse to contributing to education out of rates or by subscriptions. In fact contributions for new schools were being collected while the agitation against the Road Bills was at its height. The uniqueness of the Australian situation was that rates could be avoided and yet services could still be provided.

The government acquired its ample revenue without imposing direct taxation. A large proportion came from the sale and lease of Crown Lands. Following Wakefield's plan, the first South Australian Act of 1834 stipulated that all proceeds of land sales were to be used to assist immigration.¹¹⁴ In 1842 the proportion to be spent on immigration was reduced to one half.¹¹⁵ With the granting of responsible government the colonial legislature was given full control of Crown Lands, and one of the first Acts of the first parliament abolished the immigration fund and directed all proceeds of land sales into general revenue.¹¹⁶ The colony spent money on immigration only in prosperous times, and it was never prepared to spend heavily. Since the price of land was kept at the minimum of £1 per acre, the abandoning of large scale assisted immigration meant that without taxation and without attracting any odium to itself the colonial government acquired considerable financial resources. In the ten

years from 1870, 42% of total revenue received came from the sale or lease of Crown Lands.¹¹⁷ Nearly all the rest came from customs duties levied on imported goods. Like the rest of the Australian colonies, South Australia received the great majority of its imports by sea. Most of them were shipped to the one port, Port Adelaide, so the colonial government had easy access to one of the least burdensome forms of taxation.

The financial position of the Australian colonial governments was in marked contrast to that of the states of the United States during the nineteenth century. In America it was the federal government which benefited from customs duties and land sales, while the states struggled to find revenue. The federal government was embarrassed by its riches. It spent millions of dollars on roads, canals, forts, rivers and harbours. By 1836 it had paid off the national debt and still the surpluses continued to accumulate. Plans to re-allocate the surplus to the states foundered upon constitutional difficulties and fears for state rights. In the end the problem was solved by making land cheaper and by granting huge tracts to railway companies and the new western states.¹¹⁸ In Australia, where there was no federal system, the proceeds of land sales and customs duties were entirely at the disposal of the colonial governments. One very good reason why the colonists were happy for the central government to undertake so much - railways, telegraph, reservoirs and schools - was that it did not appear to cost them anything. So long as land

was sold and goods imported the treasury was continually being replenished. State Socialism in the Australian colonies has been described as socialism sans doctrine. What was even more distinctive was that State Socialism was established sans direct taxation.

Landed property was very well represented in the South Australian Parliament during the colonial period. To men of property the attractiveness of assigning responsibilities to central government was that they continued to avoid direct taxation. While the central government could raise money readily without taxing land or income, parliament was unlikely to remit responsibilities to local government whose only source of income was a rate upon land. Local government was synonymous with direct taxation.

The aim of many large property holders was to have no local government bodies at all. In the South East the squatters managed to confine the operation of the councils to the towns and their immediate environs.¹¹⁹ At Moonta and Kadina the opposition of the mining companies to having their land subject to rates bedevilled attempts to form corporations.¹²⁰ Success came only when the mining leases were excluded from the area to be incorporated. In the farming districts a few large owners sometimes frustrated the efforts of small holders to form councils.¹²¹

While there were plenty of funds available, parliament was not even concerned that each district should tax itself to carry out the limited functions assigned to councils. No one was troubled

at the large areas in the South East and the new wheat lands which remained without councils. The central government itself performed the functions of a district council in these areas.¹²² But with the onset of the depression and the shrinking of revenue, governments and parliaments began to look to district councils to relieve the burden on the central government. Amounts spent by councils and corporations on public works had formerly been subsidised pound for pound. The subsidy was cut back to fifteen shillings, ten shillings, and then abolished.¹²³ Playford's Act of 1887, which forced all settled districts into councils, was designed and supported as a financial expedient. The Act also gave councils everywhere new responsibilities.¹²⁴ The Road Boards were abolished and the control of main roads was vested in the councils. The government was still to provide the finance for construction and maintenance of the roads, but it saved on the administrative expenses of the old road boards. The Bill also curtailed the powers of the Central Board of Health and declared each council to be a local board of health. Previously the Central Board had itself controlled public health in the district councils. It looked on regretfully as the regular administration of public health passed into the hands of local men, who were frequently careless or indifferent about the matter.¹²⁵

These concessions to local autonomy were prompted solely by the financial crisis and were subsequently revoked. In 1899 the Central Board of Health regained its power to act directly throughout the

whole colony, though a portion of its membership was now to be elected by the councils and corporations.¹²⁶ The government department appointed to supervise the councils' expenditure of the main roads fund gradually increased in influence and eventually in 1913 it was given the authority to direct, control and supplant the councils as it saw fit.¹²⁷

The financial crisis of the eighties gives some inkling of how much more eager the central government would have been to foster local government if it had been permanently short of funds. But though finances were strained severely at this time, there was no move to make local government bear the cost of poor relief, the police, or education. In order to meet these and its other responsibilities the parliament agreed for the first time to impose a land and income tax. Thereafter, instead of paying an education rate, a police rate, and a poor rate to local bodies, South Australians paid a general tax to the central government. But in the formative years when central administration was being established it was financed by the customs tariff and the land revenue. The tradition of omniscience was certainly a strong force making for central control, but equally powerful was the ability of the central government to acquire funds readily without recourse to direct taxation. This made it easy for the tradition to be maintained and extended. If special rates or taxes had been required to establish or extend central government services there would have been much more debate about where power should lie.

When every allowance has been made for the tradition of central control and its financial advantages, the debates on the Public Health and Education Bills still reveal a surprising indifference to the claims of local government. In Mid-Victorian England the question of local versus central control was still a matter for debate. In many matters the need for central control or direction had been accepted, but the suspicion of central power still remained.¹²⁸ It was supported by a complex of attitudes and beliefs ranging from traditional fears of corruption and inefficiency and the dislike of outside interference to J. S. Mill's insistence that local institutions were a protection against the tyranny of the majority. In South Australia there was almost no debate, and the advantages of central control were generally accepted unreservedly. The Chairman of the Destitute Board might argue that only local rating and control would reduce the expenditure on the poor; Boucaut and Ross might denounce the central control provided in the Health and Education Bills as unwarranted, dangerous, and tyrannical, but these were lone voices. Most parliamentarians did not even feel obliged to answer the accusations of Ross and Boucaut. No doubt the education zealots were correct in assuming that a central authority could provide a better standard of education than some groups of residents, but what would an English liberal have thought of a proposal to control all public education from Whitehall in order to have good schools in every village?

Though whole-hearted support for local government was rare,

vague misgivings about central control were more general. Faint echoes of the English debate were sounding in minds which could not really comprehend what the debate was about. Sometimes for a moment politicians and journalists remembered some slogan or principle to support local government, but in the next breath or at the next division they showed that their real sympathies lay elsewhere. Instances of this abound. In the debate on the 1875 Education Bill a member referred to the "tyranny of the majority", a notion probably acquired in some way or other from Mill. Yet he so far misunderstood Mill that it was only in the decisions of local government that he feared this tyranny.¹²⁹ He - and most of his colleagues with him - could see no danger, where Mill saw it, in the decisions of a democratically elected parliament. Some members who had vague fears about the centralisation of education persuaded the Government to include provisions for Boards of Advice in the 1873 Bill.¹³⁰ These bodies, true to name, were to have only advisory powers and in no way interfered with central control, yet members were happier with the Bill once this concession had been granted. So was the Register which had also expressed doubts about centralisation, though it warned that local boards must not "hamper the actions of the central authority or interfere with the unity of the system".¹³¹

The attitude of J. P. Boucaut to central control is a real puzzle. In 1873 he denounced the Health Bill roundly.¹³² In the same year he also criticised the Education Bill for placing complete

control in a central authority. In committee he stated he would be willing to support an amendment to give Boards of Advice more powers. He presented the House with a startling vision of the future: "The power which district councils and corporations had and ought to exercise was being thrown upon the government to an extent which ... would one day lead to something like a revolution". But within minutes he was on his feet again to take it all back. He did not wish the Boards to have the power to override the Minister or the Inspector. He had merely spoken "broadly and abstractly" upon the principles of local and central control. He would not inconvenience the Government.¹³³ In 1875 Boucaut led the Government which passed the Education Bill - and this Bill even denied local people the right to elect their Boards of Advice.

Most interesting of all is the account of local government given by the ex-Premier B. T. Finniss in his Constitutional History of South Australia, published in 1886. He praises Governor Young for introducing the district council system in 1852 and makes his bow to local government with the commonplace observation that it is a "necessary factor in the stability of free states". On the next page he comments on the provision preventing the creation of councils without the application of the residents:

When the power to tax for local improvements is never conferred except on the application of the residents themselves and when moreover a limit to taxation is assigned by the supreme legislature, the liberty of the subject and the rights of property are safely provided for.¹³⁴

According to this argument, the establishment of county government in the American West by order of the United States government was an act of tyranny, in as much as the ratepayers had not requested it. Similarly, Playford's Act of 1887 which set up new district councils without requiring the submission of a petition, must be taken as a violation of the liberty of the subject and the rights of property. Finnis uses liberal principles to claim a new inherent right for antipodean man - the right not to have local government.

How can these attitudes to local government be explained? To some extent they reflect the limited nature of the belief in political democracy. In the debates on education a distinctly paternal, even authoritarian tone, is evident. Members were very ready to dismiss the trustees of the vested schools as illiterates and incompetents, though these men had been concerned with education when most politicians were neglecting it. Ross was right to point out that the arguments used against allowing Boards of Advice any control of education could be used against allowing the people to elect a parliament. The lack of belief in local government also reflects the good performance of the central government. South Australians had never known a government which had not been honest, benevolent, and efficient. But what robbed debate about central and local control of its reality was the absence of the feeling that South Australia was a collection of separate regions or localities. Parliament itself was not so much a gathering of representatives from all over the colony as an extension of the life of the

metropolis. The colony was represented by Adelaide. To the city members the question of local and central control was merely academic. In the matters of public health and education they were particularly pleased with the prospect of a strong central authority because it could act effectively where they saw the greatest need - in the metropolis. Yet the country members were equally willing to assign responsibilities to the central government. As the debates on education in particular indicate, the almost universal assumption among the parliamentarians was that South Australia could be treated as one community. For this assumption they had ample justification, as Part I has endeavoured to show. The country population was highly mobile; the economy was controlled from one point; and the centres of social and economic life coincided with the political centre of the colony. With Adelaide in control of the colony's business affairs and attracting country people both as visitors and settlers, there seemed nothing incongruous in it playing the predominant, the almost exclusive role, in the administration of government. The country school teacher was scarcely more closely connected to Adelaide than the country storekeeper, and the inspectors of the central government departments did not visit the country towns as frequently as their leading inhabitants visited the capital. It was difficult to see South Australia as a collection of separate localities and easy to think of the central government as the "local" government for the whole colony.

Since the question of central and local control provoked so

little genuine debate, the attitudes of the centralisers can frequently only be arrived at by inference. The one reasoned consideration of the virtues of central control is provided by Chief Justice Way who chaired a Royal Commission on the Destitute Board in 1884 and wrote its report. Way had before him a recommendation from the Chairman of the Board in favour of local rating and control. This he rejected. He found the central administration of relief worked cheaply and fairly efficiently. If each district were to look after its own poor the overall cost of administration would rise, and the government would still have to bear the cost of a central organisation to control and inspect the work of local bodies. He considered closely the amount various districts would have to pay to support their own poor, and noticed how unequally the burden would fall:

The continuous migration of the youthful and energetic to new fields of enterprise, and the consequent excess in the older settled districts of aged, infirm, and destitute persons, as well as the tendency of the destitute unemployed to gravitate to the only large centre of population, all add to the difficulty of the problem to be solved in devising a fair scheme of local rating.¹³⁵

In offering this demographic survey, Way gives ample evidence to support a conclusion which was usually felt rather than argued, namely that the colony could and should be treated as a single unit.

So far the discussion has attempted to account for parliament's indifference to local government, but the willingness of the people, and particularly country people, to accept such a minor role for local government also has to be explained. There were scarcely any complaints

from the country about the centralised administration. The question of central versus local control stirred as little interest in the country hotels and meeting rooms as in the Legislative Assembly. Central government control could hardly seem remote when small electorates made it easy for constituents to influence the member for the district, and since it was no hardship to travel as a deputation to Ministers in Adelaide. Show week in Adelaide with countrymen, members and Ministers meeting in deputation rooms and on social excursions indicates how close the country was to the process of government.¹³⁶

Country people were also willing to regard the central government as their "local" government because of its role as the provider of major public works. In matters such as public health and education country people accepted the intervention of central authority, rather than willing it to act: the demand for strong government action came chiefly from the metropolis. It was otherwise with the central government's provision of public works. Here there was an almost explicit contract: settlers had paid the government for their land so they expected railways, bridges, and harbours in return. Every settler felt these needs and the demands for government action were incessant. The previous section has shown how on the whole these demands were met without provoking conflict between Adelaide and the country.¹³⁷ This harmony smoothed the way for the extension of central administration. Had there been prolonged and bitter disagreement over public works issues, country districts may not have been prepared to trust the

central government in other matters. Finally, the countrymen, like the politicians, had a powerful financial reason for accepting central control. In so doing they obtained schools, teachers, policemen and relief for the destitute without seeming to pay for them.

On occasions, of course, country people were annoyed at particular decisions or policies of the centralised administration. It was sometimes alleged, for example, that the Destitute Board was too harsh in its treatment of the poor. Several cases of "injustice" were publicised, and they were accompanied by requests for more local control in the administration of relief.¹³⁸ But the complainers were not so concerned with the poor that they offered to impose local rating to provide a more generous system of relief. They wanted a free hand with the central government's funds, a request which could naturally not be granted. Effective local control could only have followed a re-arrangement of the public revenue system and the acceptance of some local rating. There was never any movement in the country in this direction. The country press sometimes suggested it,¹³⁹ but with no consistency or any noticeable effect.

The newly settled and more distant areas of the colony were as content with central control as those nearer Adelaide. The one change which the development of the northern wheatlands induced in the administrative structure was an expansion of the jurisdiction of local courts¹⁴⁰ and the provision of a northern circuit for the

Supreme Court.¹⁴¹ Previously northern people had complained of the expense and inconvenience of cases having to be heard in Adelaide. But these changes did not represent an increase in local autonomy; a central government service had merely been made more readily available.

A circuit of the Supreme Court had been provided for the South East since 1862.¹⁴² This was an early recognition of the separateness and comparative isolation of this area of the colony. It was conceded, however, only after Adelaide had received a mild shock. In 1861 the South East was included in a proposed new colony, Princeland, which disaffected elements in Western Victoria were promoting. Members of the Separation League from Portland spoke in the South East and collected signatures for their monster petition. They did not meet with a very promising reception and the whole movement quickly collapsed.¹⁴³ This was the greatest threat the South East ever posed to Adelaide, and even this had been promoted by outsiders. Nevertheless the South East was more ready than any other area to entertain the notion of local autonomy. It was the only district, for instance, to support the Government's proposal of 1873 that districts should maintain main roads out of a local rate. All other districts wanted roads to be built and maintained out of general revenue, but the chairmen of the South East district councils and the Border Watch asked why the South East should contribute through general revenue to the maintenance of the many long established roads around Adelaide

while it had so few roads itself.¹⁴⁴ But this was a difficult position to maintain when in the following year the Government announced that it could pay for both construction and maintenance of main roads everywhere. Though the South East might not feel as close to Adelaide as to other districts, the financial reasons for accepting central government control were just as compelling.

It has been argued that a strong central government was acceptable because it harmonised with the shape of social and economic life. But it must be emphasised that there was nothing in economic or social life which made the establishment of strong local bodies an administrative impossibility. The means to local control of education, police, and poor relief were present in the district councils. South Australians chose not to use them. In doing so they allowed government to act together with economic and social conditions to inhibit the development of localism. In education where local decisions and participation had been important before 1875, localism was deliberately swept away.

It is instructive to compare this Australian situation with the position of local government in the United States and Britain during the nineteenth century. In Britain the power of the central government grew enormously during the nineteenth century, but this was countered by the development of strong local bodies with considerable powers of control and initiative, a development which the central government had itself fostered. In America the farmers in the

new western states were growing wheat for a world market just as the farmers in the new northern areas of South Australia were. But in the United States the policy of the federal government imposed upon the farmers of the new age of harvesters, grain elevators, and railways a system of local government fashioned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In both Britain and America central governments were still fostering localism when other conditions were breaking it down. In South Australia the government acted in concert with other forces to prevent its development.

SECTION 3WOOLING THE COUNTRY, POLITICS 1887-1914

The general elections of 1912 and 1915 were contests between two political parties. Only a handful of independent members stood and none was successful. The constitution and platform of both parties were governed by an annual conference held during September show week in Adelaide and attended by delegates from branches and associations throughout the state. Each party in its own way represented both Adelaide and the country. The predecessors of these parties, however, were almost exclusively metropolitan bodies. One was established by the metropolitan trade unions and the other by metropolitan capitalists. This section tells how they transformed themselves and examines what part Adelaide and the country played in these new state-wide organisations.

The metropolitan trade unions made their first impact on political life at the general elections of 1887. The Trades and Labour Council, established three years previously, adopted a political programme and endorsed candidates who would support it.¹ The Council had the satisfaction of seeing the second point in its programme, protection, become law during the 1887 session. The first point on the programme was payment of members. In 1887 the Legislative Council finally gave way on this issue, but since

it would not allow payment to begin immediately and remain permanent, the Assembly had to settle for temporary payment from 1888 to 1891.² After the general election of 1890, for which the Trades and Labour Council again endorsed candidates, a Bill was passed providing for permanent payment for members of both Houses.³ The first elections to be held after this Bill became law were for the Legislative Council, a portion of whose members retired periodically. The Trades and Labour Council founded the Labour Party early in 1891 in order to contest these elections. The new party nominated two men for the Central, or metropolitan, District, and one for the anomalous Southern District which included the largest metropolitan Assembly electorate along with the territory east and north of Adelaide. All three of these Labour candidates were successful.⁴ At the next general elections for the House of Assembly the Party ran nine candidates, all for metropolitan seats: eight were successful. In the new parliament the Labour members helped to oust the conservative Government of Sir John Downer, and their preference for Kingston determined who should lead the new liberal administration. The Party had established itself as an important political force.⁵ It had also clearly identified itself as a party of city men.

At this time the Adelaide unions had little contact or connection with workingmen in the country. In the seventies and

eighties the unions operating in Adelaide were nearly all associations of skilled tradesmen. Carpenters, masons, printers and other tradesmen frequently went into the country to get work, but except at the Gawler engineering works there was not sufficient regular employment for permanent branches of the city unions to be established in the country.⁶ The first union to join Adelaide workers firmly together with large numbers of country men was the Railways Mutual Association, established in 1887. Branches were formed at the chief country rail centres and the association was governed by annual conferences which met in Adelaide.⁷ Railwaymen played a prominent part in the new Labour Party, and its chief sponsor, the Adelaide Trades and Labour Council. When the Labour Party turned its attention to the country the railwaymen were in many places the nucleus of its support.

By 1893 there were several unions operating in the country independent of the labour movement in the city. The oldest country union was the Moonta Miners Association which was founded in the early seventies. In the eighties it was reformed as a branch of Spence's Amalgamated Miners Association. Branches were also opened at Kadina and Wallaroo and for a time these formed a colonial district of the A.M.A.⁸ The miners were far more closely linked with this national association than to the labour movement in Adelaide. At a by-election for Wallaroo in 1891 they successfully

ran Richard Hooper as their own labour candidate. He owed no allegiance to the newly formed Labour Party. After 1896 Port Pirie was also represented by an independent labour member, E. A. Roberts, who was a member of the local Workingmen's Association. In the late eighties Workingmen's Associations were formed at several of the outports. They were chiefly unions of wharf labourers, though membership was not limited to them. Each was an independent organisation having no connection with the Port Adelaide wharf labourers or the Adelaide labour movement.⁹ At Port Pirie, the largest outport, the workingmen could wield the most political influence. They nominated Roberts, a wharf labourer, for the seat of Gladstone in 1893. He was narrowly defeated then, but he was successful in 1896 and 1899. The third independent labour man to sit in the Assembly during the nineties was Alex Poynton who was secretary of the Port Augusta branch of the Shearers Union and from 1893 a member for the outback electorate of Flinders. Branches of the Shearers Union were established at Adelaide and Port Augusta in 1899.¹⁰ Though both affiliated themselves with the Adelaide Trades and Labour Council, the shearers were not closely involved in the early labour movement. Their delegates to the Trades and Labour Council only attended meetings irregularly,¹¹ and the one member of the House of Assembly returned by their votes remained independent of the Labour Party. The three independent labour members - Hooper, Roberts, and Poynton - were

invited to attend the Labour Party caucus meetings without, of course, being bound by their decisions.

After 1893 the Labour Party held eight out of fourteen metropolitan seats in the House of Assembly. Kingston the Premier, Playford his Treasurer, and three firm supporters of their Government occupied five of the others. Only one seat was held by the conservative Opposition. One of the earliest disputes within the Labour Party was over how many candidates should be run for the two-member metropolitan electorates. In 1893 the Party had contested every electorate, but only in two did it run a full ticket of two candidates. Some members, unwilling to support anyone outside the Party, however radical, wanted to contest more or even all the seats. The opposing view, which for the moment prevailed, was that to seek to dominate every electorate might be to lose the seats already held.¹² In the country, however, the Party had nothing to lose. At the 1896 general elections it sent five candidates to contest country electorates. They were all residents of Adelaide.¹³ They were, as the Register put it, the Party's missionaries.¹⁴ Since the areas where unionism was strong were already provided for by the independent labour candidates, these missionaries entered the "real" South Australian countryside of farms and orchards and small towns. They were trespassing on what their chief political rival, the National Defence League, considered its preserves.

Richard Baker, an Adelaide lawyer and pastoralist, founded the National Defence League* in May 1891, a few months after the formation of the Labour Party. Baker was the son of John Baker, a pioneer pastoralist who had sat in the Legislative Council from 1851 and had been one of the framers of the constitution. He gathered together a group of likeminded men who christened themselves defenders of the national interest. They were chiefly merchants, Adelaide squatters, land owners and professional men.¹⁵ Their aim was to oppose the Labour Party's schemes for increased direct taxation and Henry George's panacea, the single tax, which they feared more. By comparison with the early Labour Party the Single Taxers were doctrinaire and revolutionary. They wanted to abolish all forms of taxation except a tax on land to the full extent of its unimproved rental value. To defend the colony from such proposals the National League announced that it would support candidates who were in favour of the preservation of law, order and property. It would also discourage intending candidates who professed these views from competing against each other and so splitting the conservative vote.¹⁶ The League had no intention of imitating the Labour Party's system of pledged candidates bound by caucus decision. These

*In 1896 the National Defence League changed its name to the Australian National League, and became associated with similar bodies in the other colonies. Throughout this section I have called this organisation the National League.

tactics Baker deplored as a threat to the constitution.¹⁷

Though the leadership remained metropolitan,¹⁸ it knew from the start that its appeal would have to be almost solely to the country.¹⁹ Since 1887 it had witnessed the growing power of the Trades and Labour Council in the metropolitan electorates. In 1889 a deputation from the Council and the Eight Hour Celebration Committee waited on Cockburn, the Premier, to ask the Government to provide a site for a Trades Hall. The deputation was accompanied and supported by eleven of the fourteen members for the metropolitan electorates. Cockburn announced that he would be happy to grant their request.²⁰ When the Chamber of Commerce organised a rival deputation to protest at this decision, it went without the support of a single member of the Assembly.²¹ None of the metropolitan members could afford to take such a reactionary stand. The desire to please the Trades and Labour Council explains much in the policies of the liberal governments of Playford, Cockburn and Holder, who held office between 1887 and 1892 before they combined to serve under Kingston. In the Tariff Bill of 1887 Playford not only proposed to raise duties on goods that could be produced in the colony, but to take duties off the necessities of life as demanded by the Trades and Labour Council platform.²² Cockburn, who became Premier in 1889, outdid Playford in his efforts to convince the city workingmen of his devotion to protection.²³ Playford's second Government and

Holder's first both observed strict neutrality during the industrial disturbances of the early nineties. To the dismay and anger of the employers, Playford refused to enrol special constables or take any extraordinary measures to maintain law and order at Port Adelaide during the Maritime Strike. In 1892 Cockburn, who was Holder's Chief Secretary, declined to give any assistance to the New South Wales police who were being sent to Broken Hill via Adelaide.²⁴ Some members of the Adelaide Club and other citizens were so incensed at this attitude that when the second batch of policemen was sent they arranged a dinner for them at Beach's restaurant. "The mob applaud Cockburn", wrote George Hawker, "but every respectable man in the Colony is thoroughly ashamed of him".²⁵ Increasingly the financial, commercial and land owning classes found themselves isolated and without influence in their own city. Their only recourse was to turn to the country.

The Farmers Mutual Association had survived into these troubled times, with its numbers greatly depleted and the Executive quarrelling about whether it was worthwhile to continue.²⁶ Suddenly, from 1890, its general meetings and dinners were invaded by outsiders eager to revitalise the Association and use it as a weapon against the trade unions, the Single Taxers and the Labour Party. Conservative politicians, the secretaries of the Employers' and Pastoralists' Associations, and some leading members of the

National League assured the farmers that the interests of all mineowners, pastoralists, farmers and commercial men were identical, and urged the formation of one organisation to embrace them all. Their efforts were hindered by some liberal politicians who cautioned the farmers about giving themselves over to reactionaries, and by one of the new Labour members protesting his friendship for the producer.²⁷ Nevertheless, out of all this gratuitous advice and the deliberations of sub-committees there finally emerged a proposal for a National Producers Association which was to support candidates with "sound" views.²⁸ But the efforts of the outsiders were wasted. In March 1892 the farmers voted to disband their association, but they showed no interest in the new organisation that had been manufactured for them, of which no more was heard.²⁹ The country was not to be taken so easily. Early in 1892 the National League began a new offensive. It sent a paid lecturer into the country to gather support and form branches of the League.³⁰

The travelling lecturer of the National League was the first in the field. In 1893 he was joined by several part-time lecturers from the Adelaide Single Tax League which had opened a special fund to take its message to the country.³¹ Then in 1894 the Labour Party began its country campaign to prepare the way for candidates who were to stand for country electorates in 1896.³²

The Labour Party did not have the funds to pay for a lecturer, nor did it need one, for its members of parliament could act as lecturers and organisers when parliament was not sitting. They could travel on the railways free and year round they drew a salary from the State.

In the next few years these lecturers criss-crossed the countryside seeking support for their principles and programmes. In the institute the much sought after farmer might hear in one week from a Single Taxer how God gave the land to the people, or from Gregor McGregor M.L.C. on "The Labour Party and the Country" and then later Hogarth of the National League would appear to remind him of the antiquity of sin, the impossibility of equality and the sanctity of private property. Hogarth scattered the League's pamphlets - "The Single Tax" and "Deluders of the People" - behind him,³³ and for his local supporters he left a list of questions with which to ply the opposition lecturers.³⁴ At Burra, after Hogarth had passed through, the Rev. R. J. Daddow lectured on "Will the National League principles if universally accepted, hasten on the millenium? If so, what kind of millenium?"³⁵ At Salisbury, Hogarth and Henry Taylor, one of the Single Tax lecturers, met to debate "The Justice of the Application of the Georgian Single Tax Principles to the Alienated Lands of South Australia". To witness this encounter, the secretaries of the Employers' Union and the National League, and the lions of the Single Taxers travelled up

from Adelaide. Both sides, it was reported, were pleased with their champion.³⁶

Each organisation was anxious to claim success for its country campaign. At its annual meetings the National League referred to the numbers of new branches opened and its accounts of these meetings, protesting a little too much, recorded that country members "were much in evidence" and "a number took part in the proceedings".³⁷ The journals of the Labour Party and the Single Tax League followed the activities of their country lecturers closely and measured the success of their meetings by the number of farmers who were present and the distance they had travelled to attend. When audiences were small the Single Taxers attributed this to inclement weather or competition. Tea meetings, a circus, and a Baptist baptism were mentioned by one lecturer as being particularly damaging to the single tax cause.³⁸ Sometimes the reports of the touring lecturers were altogether too rosy. In 1896 the Labour Herald carried a long account of the trip of McGregor and Price to Eyre Peninsula where farming was just beginning. At Franklin Harbour the members spoke "to a large meeting, principally of farmers, some travelling as far as thirty miles to be present". At midnight they were carried through the surf on the backs of sailors, and then by boat to the coastal mail steamer. Next morning at first light the steamer stood off Tumby Bay and "the members went ashore and addressed a number of farmers who met them on the beach".

How heartening it was for the farmers to be hungry for Labour principles at that place and at that hour - or were they only there to collect the mail? That evening the members spoke at Port Lincoln. From the other side of the peninsula "all the oyster fishermen except three" left their boats and came thirty miles overland to be present.³⁹ Galilee had not seen greater devotion.

Despite all the hopeful signs, this first assault on the country yielded little to its promoters in parliamentary results. The dogma of the single tax made no advance at all. The National League was pleased with some individual victories, but it failed to win over the country. The Kingston Government, to which the League was implacably opposed, triumphantly survived two general elections in 1896 and 1899 and governed for a record period of six years. From 1893 to 1902 the number of the League's supporters and sympathisers in the House of Assembly remained fairly constant around eighteen, or one third of the membership of fifty-four.⁴⁰ Omitting the two seats which the League consistently held in the metropolis after 1894, its country strength was around sixteen out of a possible forty. Most of these members had still only been elected as "endorsed" candidates*:

* The meaning of an "endorsed candidate" has changed. Nowadays it usually refers to a candidate chosen by a political party from its own ranks, whose policy is that of his party. In this period it referred to someone who had offered himself for election and had subsequently received the support of an organisation which considered that his views were closest to its own.

they did not necessarily support all the League's programme. Of the Labour Party's country missionaries, one was returned for Encounter Bay in 1896. The rest - four candidates in 1896 and five in 1899 - were all defeated. The Labour members continued to support Kingston's Government, though their allegiance sometimes wavered because it was by no means prepared to sponsor all their programmes.

Since neither the National League on the right nor the Labour Party on the left made any significant advances, the middle ground in the House of Assembly remained occupied by a group of liberals who formed the basis of Kingston's majority. A few of these, like Kingston himself, were returned for metropolitan electorates with the support of the Labour Party, but most of them came from the country. The country liberals were a diverse group and their notion of independence was still strong, but eventually they established a regular system of caucus meetings, elected a parliamentary leader and called themselves the Country Party.⁴¹ Their aim seems to have been to preserve their identity at a time when parties were becoming more important, and to exercise firm control over the proposals emanating from the other group of government supporters, the highly disciplined Labour Party. This was purely a parliamentary group. For a short time in 1896 Richard Foster, one of its members, did attempt to organise an extra-parliamentary association called the Liberal Union. One

conference was held at which a constitution and platform were adopted, the latter being virtually the policy of the Kingston Government.⁴² The association did not survive long. Foster, justifying their lack of zeal, explained that the cause of liberalism advanced even though they had no active organisation to support it.⁴³ Despite the efforts of the National League and the Labour Party, the liberals found they could hold their own in the country without the support of a party. It was enough for them to be supporters of the Kingston Government.

What was the basis of their appeal to the country? The Government which they supported took the State into new fields of activity for the assistance of the primary producer. Under the provisions of the State Advances Act of 1895, the State Bank was established to lend money to farmers at reasonable rates of interest.⁴⁴ At a time when farmers were looking for new crops and products, the Government helped them by paying a bonus on exported butter,⁴⁵ and opening a Wine and Produce Department in London through which they could market their goods.⁴⁶ The Government also adopted new methods of giving farmers access to the land. After the failure of the far northern farming lands in the eighties, farmers had begun to look enviously at the large pastoral estates in well watered regions. In 1890 Cockburn's Government had introduced a Progressive Land Tax Bill with the aim of "bursting up" the large estates, but the measure and then the Government were defeated. Under Kingston, progressive

taxation on both land and income became law. Additional land tax was imposed on estates above £5,000 unimproved value and on all land owned by absentees.⁴⁷ In 1897 the ministry complemented these measures with a Repurchase Act which allowed the government to buy large estates and subdivide them for farmers.⁴⁸ The passing of this legislation which ministered to the farmers' basic needs - for land, money and markets - made it easy for the liberals and the Government to retain their rural support. Not only did the Government retain its majority, but at the two general elections which it contested, all its ministers except one were returned at the top of the poll. Defeating ministers or placing them second was a traditional way of showing dissatisfaction with a government. In the Kingston Government only the Premier had to be content with second place. After the formation of the Labour Party, the first position in West Adelaide was always taken by its candidate, E. L. Batchelor.

In the last years of its life the ministry, and Kingston in particular, was increasingly preoccupied with the lowering of the franchise for the Legislative Council which was still limited, as in the original constitution, to the £25 householder. Initially the Government's policy was to reduce the qualification to £15, which was a comparatively moderate proposal, especially as property values had fallen in the depression.⁴⁹ Only after the Legislative Council had twice rejected the Government's Reform Bill did Kingston announce that he would fight for household suffrage, pure and simple.

This was a really radical proposal. The Legislative Council of course rejected it when the Government presented its new Bill in 1898. To increase the pressure on the Upper House the Government decided to take a referendum on the issue at the 1899 general elections. Predictably all seven metropolitan electorates voted in favour of household suffrage, but even on this more abstract issue, Kingston carried the country with him. Thirteen out of twenty country electorates voted for the Reform Bill.⁵⁰

The National League experienced many difficulties in opposing this Government and in attempting to establish itself in the country. To discredit the activities of the Kingston Government it proclaimed the superiority of free enterprise and declared individual liberty to be in danger. It was hardly a propitious time for this to be well received. The League's supporters opposed a State Bank when private banks were failing and they expressed doubts about a State Export Department and the provision of seed wheat to farmers when harvests and prices were at a record low. The Secretary of the National League remarked regretfully that hard times had led many persons to accept "fads", by which he meant the kind of policies espoused by the Kingston Government.⁵¹

One of the chief concerns of the League was to stave off increases in direct taxation which Kingston was insisting should be more particularly borne by the rich. The League suggested that reductions in government spending would make extra taxation

unnecessary, and pointed out how savings could be made. The League's journal, the Country, boldly reactionary, called for the abolition of payment of members and for halving the expenditure on education.⁵² The programme which the League adopted for elections was a little more circumspect and limited its opposition to the payment of Legislative Councillors and to education being provided free.⁵³ The merits of these proposals were not solely economic. If payment ceased, the League could reasonably expect many of its enemies would disappear from political life, and having come out in favour of amending the education system, the League could perhaps expect some support from the system's leading enemies, the Roman Catholics, to whom it made some faint overtures.⁵⁴ Both policies, however, were disastrous and had to be dropped. The country, which had struggled hard to obtain payment of members, did not respond to the League's call to forsake it. On the education issue a precise measure of public opinion was taken at the 1896 general election. Faced with Catholic demands for state aid and a Protestant demand for Bible reading in schools, as well as with the League's criticism of free education, the Government placed a series of questions before the electors to settle the issue. The vote was overwhelmingly in favour of retaining the existing system.⁵⁵

Several large land owners were among the foundation members of the League and others contributed to its funds.⁵⁶ One

of the League's aims was to protect these large estates. Its strategy was to argue that a raid on large estates would only be a prelude to a general attack on all property. That being so, all property owners should stand together. The argument did not prevent the passage of the progressive land tax in 1894. Substantial farmers may have shared the League's fears, but their smaller neighbours and their sons were very hungry for new land. The League had no real objection to the government being allowed to purchase large estates if their owners wanted to sell.⁵⁷ However, some of the liberals were already talking of compulsory repurchase and the Commissioner of Crown Lands himself, when introducing the 1897 Repurchase Bill, said he wished it had provided for compulsion.⁵⁸ To that principle the League was implacably opposed. The issue was not pressed until the new century, when the League was to find how strong was the farmers' desire for good land, and how weak their fears of an attack on all property.

The League's appeal to the country was based on the assumption that the interests of countrymen were identical with those of metropolitan capitalists and large land holders. Its early history demonstrates the falsity of that assumption. The policies framed to protect the interests of the foundation members did not command a majority in the country. In the House of Assembly the League's supporters and sympathisers seemed doomed to be a perpetual and not

very effective Opposition. But failure in the Assembly was not final, for the League could more reasonably expect to control the Upper House. For a short time it failed even here. From 1894 to 1896 Labour and liberal members held a narrow majority.⁵⁹ Thereafter the conservatives were in control with the opportunity to amend or reject the government's measures. Since it was increasingly relying on the Legislative Council, the League was determined to defend it. "No reduction in the Council franchise" became the most solid plank in its platform.^{59a} One of the League's regular tasks was arranging to have people who no longer met the property qualification struck off the Council roll. Yet if the League defended the Council too determinedly, it seemed certain to reduce still further its chance of controlling the House of Assembly. At the 1899 referendum the electors of that House, in both Adelaide and the country, voted in favour of household suffrage. The League needed the Legislative Council, but it could not afford to abandon the House of Assembly. This was the dilemma facing an association which was always discovering that what it was defending was not the national interest.

The Single Taxers and the Labour Party, who were competing with the National League for the country vote, shared an uneasy relationship. The Single Taxers failed absolutely to win support for their dogma, but both they and some of their principles permeated the Labour Party and made its appeal to the country much less likely

to succeed.

The devoted Single Taxer believed that a tax on unimproved land values was all that was needed to bring in the social millenium. Apart from his radicalism on the land question, Henry George was, on all other matters, a conservative of the laissez-faire school. Protective duties, special taxes on the wealthy, factory acts, State banks and even trade unions, were unnecessary and pernicious. Such single mindedness was only found among the faithful, but some of George's general principles were more widely accepted. When South Australia was discussing land taxation in 1883 and 1884 the conservative Register was under the control of the assistant editor who happened to be a Single Taxer.⁶⁰ The paper's influence was largely responsible for the new tax being levied, as George insisted it must be, on the unimproved and not the improved value of the land. During the nineties the Labour Party, with the support of the liberals, fought to have this principle made the basis of municipal and district council rating.⁶¹ Many men in the early labour movement, though rejecting George's panacea, acquired from Progress and Poverty a feeling that God gave the land to the people and that land monopoly was at the root of society's troubles.

Although the single tax had some support within the trade unions, its devotees were usually found among the petit bourgeoisie who composed the Single Tax League and various other reform groups,

collectively known to the early Labour Party as the Democratic Associations. These associations had flourished in Adelaide on debates, lectures, and indignation since the collapse of prosperity in the early eighties. Their membership must often have been larger than some of the trade unions.⁶² The early Labour Party wanted to have their support, while they wanted to use the Party to push "on the land question as being at the root of all others". In 1892, when the Party was established on a permanent basis, the Democratic Associations were allowed representation on the governing Council of the Party and special provision was made for them to have delegates on the Executive as well.⁶³ Their influence can be seen in the changes made to the Labour platform in 1893 and 1896.⁶⁴ The 1891 platform, drawn up when the trade unions were still in complete control, began with protection and a progressive land tax, both anathema to the Single Taxer. Protection was a spurious and unjust form of taxation, and to tax larger estates more heavily was to break one of George's cardinal principles, that all land should be treated alike and taxed at the same rate according to its value. Both planks were subsequently removed. Protection was replaced by a vague statement about encouraging local industry. It was fortunate that the need for revenue was now quite sufficient to retain the protective tariff without the help of its erstwhile supporters because if the tariff had been a live issue, the alliance between free trade

Single Taxers and protectionist trade unions could scarcely have survived. On the question of the land tax, the 1893 platform made no reference to the progressive tax, but asked for a general increase on all properties.⁶⁵ In 1896 this was linked with the traditional request for a "free breakfast table": the duties on tea, coffee, cocoa, kerosene (and for good measure, on all articles which were not grown or produced in the colony) were to be remitted and the deficiency in the revenue made good by an all round increase in the land tax. From 1893 the platform also declared Labour's opposition to the further alienation of Crown Land.

This new bias in its programme meant that the Party went to the country opposed to two of Kingston's most popular measures, the progressive land tax and government repurchase of large estates. The attraction of the progressive tax was that it taxed only large land holders, exempted nearly all the farmers, and encouraged them with the prospect that, under pressure from the tax, large holdings would be subdivided and sold. The Labour Party had the difficult task of telling the farmer that he would be better off if all holdings, large and small, were taxed more heavily. If more revenue was raised from the land, they argued, the farmer would benefit because indirect taxation could be lessened. Under the Labour Party's policy the farmer would no longer have to pay duties on many of the

articles in every day use; and the Single Taxers asked the farmer to support an even higher tax and have done with import duties altogether.⁶⁶ Though statistics were freely employed - one of the Single Taxers was known as "the statistician of the movement" - it was never convincingly demonstrated that the farmer's savings at the Customs House would exceed his extra payments to the Taxation Commissioner. In any case, these arguments did not consider that the farmer might prefer to pay his taxation indirectly rather than in one lump sum, and it looked very much as if the Labour Party, like the Single Taxers, wanted to free those who did not own land from all taxation, and to place it solely on those who did. This was perfectly justifiable if you accepted Henry George's premise that the land belonged to all the people, and not to its present "owners"; a doctrine, however, with which owners were not usually prepared to agree.

No mention was made in the Labour platform of government repurchase of large estates, and in 1897 all the city Labour members voted against the Government's Repurchase Bill. Those with the most marked single tax sympathies claimed that a general rise in the land tax, as well as effecting every other worthwhile reform, would do more to make land available at reasonable prices than government repurchase. All Labour speakers were firmly opposed to the government buying back land in some areas while it was still selling Crown land in others. Every year the Labour

members fruitlessly brought forward a motion seeking the substitution of a system of leasing, for the sale, of Crown lands. It may have appeared illogical for the government to be simultaneously a buyer and seller of land, but the Crown lands then being sold were clearly inferior to the well watered lands which were to be repurchased, and in any case, the repurchased lands were to be held solely on lease. For the Labour Party to offer these theoretical objections to what would so plainly provide some immediate benefit to the land hungry farmer, was a very impolitic course. All the Labour representatives for the country - the three independents and the one Labour Party member - seemed to realise this and voted for the Repurchase Bill.⁶⁷

Some parts of the Labour programme had a special appeal to the country voter. It included a State Bank and a State Export Department and the Party could fairly claim it was advocating these before the liberals were fully aware of their value. Yet on the central questions of land and taxation, the Party had handicapped itself by replacing its usual pragmatism with the pedantry of Henry George. But even if it could have thrown off that incubus, the difficulties which the Labour Party faced in taking its programme to the country would not have altogether disappeared, because in some matters there was a simple clash of interests between city workers and the farmers. To reduce substantially the amount collected at the Customs House would mean

increased taxation in some form, whether according to the Henry George formula or no, and this would touch rural property or income. The question of a butter bonus also demonstrated that producers and workers did not always have the same interests. Nearly all the Labour members voted against the subsidy because they thought it would increase the price and lower the quality of the product sold locally.⁶⁸ Finally, the plank in the Party's platform which aroused more suspicion than any other, was that providing for the redistribution of electorates on the basis of population. Since the Party did so well in the metropolitan area it was in its interests to increase the city's representation, which had fallen far below what its population entitled it to. The country, however, considered the imbalance would have to continue if its interests were to be protected. The feeling on this matter was so strong⁶⁹ that it was plain the Labour Party would have to decide whether it was to continue insulting the country while attempting to win its support. In its 1901 platform the plank was modified to a request for a more equitable distribution of electorates, but even this was probably asking too much.

The Labour Party was so confident of its own virtue that it wanted the country to accept absentee candidates along with its Adelaide-made programme. This was a very brazen and reactionary course. With payment of members established,

absentee members were a diminishing race. The Labour Party owed its existence to payment of members and yet it asked country electorates, which had led the fight to secure payment, to forego local representation in favour of an unknown trade unionist from Adelaide. In 1896 when Labour first ran country candidates, the National League also sent a few of its leading lights into the country, as well as following its usual course of endorsing candidates.⁷⁰ Perhaps it did not want to miss out if the new strategy succeeded. However, the National League was no more successful in this than the Labour Party, and it, too, only ever managed to have one of its country missionaries returned.⁷¹ Occasionally an absentee might still be successful, but the country was not going to see the old order revived under the patronage of the political parties. With this determination the parties would have to come to terms.

Despite their interest in the country, neither the Labour Party nor the National League allowed country people to exercise any worthwhile control in their organisations. Ten years after its formation, the Labour Party had no country branches at all. For its campaigning in the country it relied on the railway men in various centres, and in many places, on individual supporters who would accommodate travelling politicians and arrange their meetings.⁷² It was not until after the 1899 general election, when all except one of its country candidates had again been

defeated, that the Party drew up rules for country branches.⁷³ These provided that a country branch could conduct a plebiscite to choose its own local candidate for House of Assembly elections. The new rules made no alteration in the way the Party was governed. Country branches would be allowed representation on the governing Council, along with the unions, the Democratic Associations and the district committees from the metropolitan area; but since this body met monthly there would be little chance of country branches being able to send delegates regularly. Thus the Party's platform and constitution would remain beyond their reach. Only a few branches had been formed under these rules when a much more radical change was made in the Party's constitution in 1904.

The National League appeared to have done much more in its first ten years towards incorporating country people into its organisation. Branches of the League were established in many localities and local members were consulted, either by circular, or the convening of a special meeting, as to which candidates should receive the League's support at elections.⁷⁴ Unlike the Labour Party, the League's platform and constitution were controlled by an annual Conference which met during the September Show week when country people were most likely to be in town. Initially, country branches were well represented and their delegates took an active part,⁷⁵ but later interest seems to have waned and the conference became little more than public displays designed and controlled by the Adelaide Executive. The

Executive must have been embarrassed when at one meeting a country storekeeper prefaced his remarks by announcing he had been asked to speak to counter the impression that the League was dominated by Adelaide men.⁷⁶

Every year the Conference elected the League's Council. Throughout the League's twenty year existence this election always took the same form. From the floor of the hall, a member read about eighty names from a prepared list and moved they constitute the Council of the League. The motion was carried without debate or dissent. A little over half the members so elected came from the country. The following month, when the Show was over, and there was little chance of country members being present, the Council met for the first time and appointed the Executive and the Executive's sub-committees. Again there was no real election: the Council merely approved a list of names supplied by the existing Executive. A few of these were sometimes countrymen. But the meetings of both the Executive and Council were usually attended solely by Adelaide men. Occasionally one or two country men might appear.⁷⁷ In answering charges that it was merely an association of Adelaide capitalists, the League made much of the number of country men on its governing Council (its propaganda made no mention of the Executive),⁷⁸ but such a Council so composed was a fiction. Until it was disbanded in 1910 the League was controlled by the Adelaide men who had been

its founders. The insignificant part played by the branches in the League's management reflects their financial unimportance. Members in country branches were not called on to pay any affiliation fees to the central body. The League's election expenses and the salaries for its secretary, office staff and travelling lecturers were met by a few large subscribers whose interests were the first concern of the Executive and Council.⁷⁹

Though control of both parties remained in metropolitan hands, neither had much difficulty in winning a nucleus of support in the country. The more substantial and the more easily frightened of the farmers and businessmen rallied to one cause, the railwaymen to the other. These people were not unhappy with central control or even absentee candidates.⁸⁰ But the continuing success of the liberals showed that a large portion of the country was not impressed by either of the two parties. The return of the independent labour candidates indicated that even country trade unionists could value their independence. If all the country were to be won over, it would have to be wooed more gently.

While the two parties were still far from being national organisations, a fairly firm parliamentary alliance was established between Adelaide and the country under the stable governments of Kingston and Holder. These two Premiers built their majorities on a combination of city and country radicalism, the one chiefly represented by the Labour Party, and the other by the liberals.

With their support Kingston governed from June 1893 until December 1899. He was defeated finally because some of his followers were not as determined as he on the question of household suffrage for the Legislative Council. Six liberals and two independent labour members from the country voted against the Government after Kingston had announced he would seek a double dissolution if the Legislative Council rejected the Franchise Bill for the second time.⁸¹ The Government was defeated and replaced by a mongrel ministry of four conservatives, one liberal and one independent labour member. A clear decision in favour of the £15 franchise would have secured them the support of those liberals who had always had doubts about household suffrage; but their conservative bias was too strong for this.⁸² They promised only a reduction to £20 and were defeated within a week. Holder, who had been Kingston's Treasurer, then formed a government committed to £15 franchise as a first step towards household suffrage.⁸³ The alliance between liberal and labour was revived again and made more explicit by the inclusion of one Labour member in the cabinet. Kingston, rashly vowing he would not enter federal politics until household suffrage was carried,^{83a} resigned his Assembly seat and successfully contested a by-election for the Council. Three months later the vow was broken and Kingston was a member of the first federal ministry. Holder's Government came to an end in May 1901 when the Premier took his seat in the House of Representatives.

The liberals and the Labour Party were united in their willingness to see the State take on new duties and responsibilities. They were not, however, equally happy about all forms of State activity. The liberals' suspicion of measures in which the Labour Party was most specifically interested was made clear in 1893, the first year of their alliance, during the debate on the Government's Factory Bill. All the liberals voted for the second reading, but on several occasions in committee enough of them voted with the Opposition to carry amendments designed to make the bill less stringent. The Government itself supported a liberal amendment to limit the application of the Act in the first instance to municipal corporations, and then the liberals went further and supported a conservative amendment requiring the receipt of a petition from a majority of ratepayers before the government could have the Act enforced in district council areas.⁸⁴ This became a standard way for country liberals to allay their fears about industrial legislation. Bills for the early closing of shops and the establishment of wages boards were only passed by the Assembly after their application had been limited to metropolitan Adelaide.⁸⁵ For other parts of its programme the Labour Party could win scarcely any sympathy from the liberals. Every year they sought in vain to institute the "free breakfast table" and they were constant in their criticism of the poor treatment of the men employed in public works. Increasingly the Labour members complained that though

they had supported all the measures designed to help the farmers, the country liberals were only luke warm about helping the workers.⁸⁶ In fact the Labour members exaggerated their willingness to support Kingston's rural programme. They had been firm in their support for a State Bank and a State Export Department and, after losing an amendment embodying their own land tax proposals, they had voted for the progressive land tax,⁸⁷ but they had voted against the butter bonus and the Bill to provide for the repurchase of large estates. These measures had passed only because the conservatives were not wholly opposed to them.

The reason for the Labour members' increasing frustration was that they needed the liberals more than the liberals needed them. Kingston and Holder enjoyed so much support that they could have survived no-confidence motions, and carried the progressive land tax, the State Bank, and the Export Department even if the Labour members had stayed home. If the Labour members had voted with the Opposition the Government would have been defeated, but this was a course virtually denied them. When Kingston formed his Government he united all the liberal factions - both leaders and followers - behind him. The House of Assembly was divided thereafter on grounds of principle. The Opposition was firmly conservative and totally at odds with the Labour Party. The division between liberal and conservative extended into the Upper House so that, though the votes of the Labour members were needed

to carry the Government's measures in this House, they could hardly back up any request to the Government with a threat to vote with the Opposition. In 1898 during a debate on a no-confidence motion, the only one with which Kingston was ever troubled, the Labour Party did begin negotiations with P. M. Glynn, a leading member of the Opposition. It very quickly discovered what it knew already, that it could do no better than stay with Kingston. The Labour members accordingly voted with the liberals to defeat the no-confidence motion, and the alliance continued.⁸⁸ When Holder left for federal politics in 1901 it had survived for about eight years. How long would it continue in its existing state? Could the Labour Party increase its own members and put more pressure upon the liberals, or would the National League convince the country that any connection with the metropolitan trades hall party was unnatural and unwise?

By 1901 the proportion of the Assembly's country electors had fallen to 56%. The political importance of the country rested not on the number of its electors, but on the number of country electorates. The country returned forty of the fifty-four House of Assembly members, or 74% of the membership. The electoral boundaries had not been changed since 1882. As Adelaide was growing

more rapidly than the country, the discrepancy between its population and its representation was growing larger every year. In 1901 it possessed 44% of the electors and controlled only 26% of the Assembly's membership.⁸⁹

During the 1901 parliamentary session the whole question of electoral distribution was reviewed, not because members generally were dissatisfied with the existing arrangement, but as a result of a popular clamour for cheaper government. Press and public maintained that the number of members and ministers should be reduced, since the achievement of federation meant that there was less for them to do. The Government which had to begin this dismal pruning task was led by J. G. Jenkins who had reconstituted the liberal ministry on Holder's departure. Jenkins proposed to replace the existing twenty-seven two-member electorates with thirty-six single electorates. The country was to return twenty-four members and Adelaide, twelve.⁹⁰ This was surprisingly generous to Adelaide: the city would lose only two members while the country lost sixteen. With 44% of the electors, Adelaide would return 33% of the membership instead of 26%. Jenkins, disclaiming any support for the principle of representation according to population, said he merely wanted to restore the ratio of representation between city and country to what it had been in previous years.⁹¹ However the ministry knew very well that it was impossible to carry such a measure; it made no efforts on its behalf,⁹² and no doubt the four country ministers would have

been most upset if it had become law. It was probably designed for the benefit of the two city ministers, of whom Jenkins was one. Though the Bill failed to pass, they could still tell their electors that they had done their best for the city. The few city liberals had to align themselves more closely to the Labour Party than their country colleagues since they relied on its support or indulgence for their election; and the Labour programme included a redistribution of seats on a more equitable basis. But what the Labour Party wanted, or the ministry professed to want, was of no consequence, for the redistribution of 1901 was to be decided by country back-benchers acting in concert.

After Jenkins had moved the second reading of the Bill he allowed an adjournment of the debate for some weeks. Country members then began to debate alternative schemes among themselves, for it was generally agreed that the Government's scheme was preposterous. The country was certainly not going to make more sacrifices than the city. The problem was to produce a House small enough to satisfy the public, whilst causing the least danger and inconvenience to sitting members. To formulate a definite alternative proposal, William Gilbert, conservative member for Yatala, called a meeting of all country members. Thirty-two members accepted his invitation out of a possible thirty-seven, the three ministers holding Assembly seats in the country being

scarcely eligible to attend.⁹³ In this matter differences of political principle were irrelevant. Two independent labour members and one Labour representative from the country seem to have been present along with liberals and conservatives.⁹⁴ At the meeting a majority agreed on a plan to join the existing two-member electorates into pairs and to give the enlarged electorates three members each. Since the number of country electorates was uneven, the three smallest, Noarlunga, Mr. Barker, and Encounter Bay, were to be amalgamated into one, Alexandra, and though it was still smaller than some of the others, it was to return four members. These proposals would reduce the number of country members from forty to thirty. To keep Adelaide's proportion of the membership the same, the number of its representatives was reduced from fourteen to eleven. Its seven electorates were to be regrouped into three, and the eleven members distributed between them.⁹⁵

Not all country members were happy with this solution. When the debate was resumed, they voiced their objections and advocated alternatives. Then Gilbert called for order and asked country members to abide by the decision of their caucus. On a test division the casting vote of the Chairman of Committees fixed the size of the new House at forty-one members, the number required under the caucus scheme.⁹⁶ Thereafter Gilbert was in charge, and under his care the details of the caucus scheme were passed by the

Assembly. Despite his party's platform, the one country Labour member voted with Gilbert and against his Labour colleagues. The policy of equal electoral districts was particularly inappropriate for his electorate of Encounter Bay, since it was the smallest electorate of all. The fate of Jenkins' proposals again demonstrated, if further demonstration were needed, how inappropriate Labour's policy was for the country as a whole.

The one alteration which Gilbert allowed in the caucus proposal was for an extra member to be given to Adelaide, and for its electorates to be grouped in a different way. This had been requested by Jenkins whose endeavours were now limited to ensuring that metropolitan electorates were grouped sensibly, and that the number of members allowed to each new electorate was in proportion to its population.⁹⁷ In this at least he was successful, so Adelaide emerged from the redistribution with three electorates returning five, four and three members, and its overall proportion of the Assembly membership increased only very slightly. Politically, the country was as important as ever.

The 1901 Act also reduced the number of Council members and rearranged its districts slightly.⁹⁸ The Act provided that at the next general elections for the House of Assembly all seats for the Legislative Council should be contested. Accordingly, in 1902 the parliament was completely reconstituted for the first time since the introduction of responsible government. At these elections

the Labour Party suffered a severe set-back and the whole political outlook was transformed. In the new Legislative Council it had only two representatives in a House of eighteen. This was less surprising than its defeat in the Assembly because the Party had been losing members from the Council since 1896, when it held six seats out of twenty-four. In the Assembly elections the defeat was more stunning. Instead of holding half the metropolitan seats it now held only a third. There was not one Labour member for the new four-member seat of Adelaide. In the country the Party had attempted much less than previously. Carpenter, who had held Encounter Bay, was its only country candidate, but he failed to gain a seat in the new district of Alexandra. The number of independent country labour members also declined. The amalgamation of the country electorates, which was eventually to favour the Labour Party, initially made the task of labour candidates more difficult because working-class strongholds had been linked with agricultural areas. Two Moonta miners who stood for the enlarged electorate of Wallaroo were the only independent candidates to nominate in 1902.⁹⁹ One of these was successful. However, the decline in the number of its rural allies was not as upsetting to the Labour Party as its own failure in the metropolis. This had been regarded as the stronghold of the Party and its liberal allies. The National League had placed its hope in the country. Yet in 1902 the conservatives increased their

strength and morale, not by making gains in the country, but by winning seats in Adelaide. After 1902 the National League held four seats in Adelaide,¹⁰⁰ the same number as the Labour Party. The liberals held the remaining four.

The strengthening of the conservatives and the weakening of the Labour Party confirmed in the Jenkins Government a tendency to move towards the right. Once Kingston and Holder had departed it became clear that some of the liberals were less radical than their leaders. Jenkins himself was neither as able nor as determined as his illustrious predecessors. His Government drifted closer to the conservatives and after the 1903 session Jenkins accepted one of the National League's members into cabinet. In 1904 some of the liberals, unwilling to be associated with such an alliance, and sensing a new electoral atmosphere, went into opposition with the Labour Party, which had been suspicious of the Jenkins Government from the beginning. The radical liberals were led by A. H. Peake. The Government was then reliant on the conservatives for its survival.¹⁰¹ In this way the National League finally found a ministry over which it had some control. The leader of the conservatives was John Darling, wheat merchant, mining director, and a natural defender, who now became the power behind the throne.¹⁰² At the 1902 elections he had been returned at the top of the poll for the five-member metropolitan electorate of Torrens.

Various reasons were put forward to explain Labour's defeat in 1902. To the Register the results fulfilled its prophecy that the workers would eventually see Labour politicians were not their true friends. More soberly it noted that the conservatives had learnt their lesson and were now better organized.¹⁰³ The Advertiser commented on the low polling in some areas of Adelaide.¹⁰⁴ This had also been a feature of the Council elections over the previous years, in which Labour had fared badly.¹⁰⁵ Low polling seems to have hurt the Labour Party and indicates a decline in its ability to mobilise its voters. At the first Labour Party Council meeting after the elections, the Secretary urged the need for the reorganization of the metropolitan district committees, which were responsible for work in the electorates, and for greater efforts in putting names on the roll. The Council, shocked at its defeat, appointed a sub-committee to examine its constitution and platform. However at the next meeting, the committee was instructed merely to advise on the best means of arousing interest in the Party.¹⁰⁶ A wider enquiry may have touched on the question of country organization, but the Party's first consideration naturally was to regain its position in its former strongholds. It did not turn its attention to the country until early in 1904 when it appointed a committee to organise branches in the country. The Council allotted the task to seven delegates and all the Labour parliamentarians.¹⁰⁷ Rules for country branches had been drawn up

in 1899, but when this committee was formed, Mount Gambier was the only country branch in existence. Two months after its appointment the committee began to lay before the Council its suggestions for a new constitution under which country branches would have more independence and a greater chance of influencing Party policy.

The committee recommended that when country branches were running their own candidates for parliament they should only have to forward 3d. of the usual shilling membership fee to the central organization. The rest, and any other funds they raised, could be spent as they saw fit. To enable them to have a voice in the control of the Party's platform and constitution, the committee proposed to take these powers from the Council and vest them in an annual Conference to which country branches could send delegates, along with the unions and Democratic Associations. Between Conferences the Council would continue to control all other Party matters as before and country branches would appoint delegates to the Council. The annual Conference was also to elect the Party's Executive.¹⁰⁸ The existing Executive was a hybrid body: its officers and seven members to represent the Democratic Associations were elected by the Council; each district committee in Adelaide sent one member, and the parliamentary committees of the Adelaide and Port Adelaide Trades and Labour Councils were ex officio members.¹⁰⁹ It was a good example of the piecemeal

way in which the Labour Party had been put together. In its proposals the committee had planned for a more unified and independent Party as a byproduct of its desire to allow country branches some measure of influence.

The minutes of the Labour Council are annoyingly reticent. They record merely that the committee's proposals led to "animated debate", and "general discussion". The proposal to establish a conference as the supreme body of the Party seems to have been agreed to readily. The debate and the disagreement centred on the degree of independence to be allowed to country branches. A test of opinion on this issue was taken when the committee's proposals were first received. A motion directing the committee to draft a new rule embodying its recommendation that country branches should be allowed to retain three quarters of the membership fee was strongly opposed and only carried on division by 28 votes to 20. The opposition was afraid that if country branches were not kept under strict control they would compromise the principles and platform of the Party. Since the Party had hitherto been solely a metropolitan organisation, the actions of the Executive, Council, or any group of members were open to the surveillance of the whole membership. All the Party's parliamentary candidates had been balloted for on the one plebiscite and then allotted by the Council to the various electorates. Now the organisation was spreading out of Adelaide's sight. The Mount Gambier branch was opened in 1903

and several more were being formed while the Council deliberated on the new constitution. They would be choosing their own candidates and their own means of supporting them. To some this seemed a dangerous relaxation of central control. But such a relaxation was necessary if the country were to be won over; and without country members there could never be a Labour majority. The committee's proposals were agreed to, and to satisfy the malcontents a new rule was added providing that all printed matter issued by country branches should be strictly in accord with the principles and platform of the Party.¹¹⁰

At the meeting of the Labour Council in January 1904 when the organising committee for the country had been appointed, another committee, composed of seven delegates and the State parliamentarians, had been formed to review the Party's platform.¹¹¹ This was the usual practice in the year preceding a general election. On this occasion, since all the parliamentarians and two of the other members were also serving on the country organising committee, it was to be expected that one of the committee's chief concerns would be to make the new platform appealing to the country. Their recommendations were altered only slightly before being adopted by the Council.¹¹² All references to a redistribution of seats were now dropped.¹¹³ The principles of Henry George were abandoned. With federation, the plank providing for the remission of customs duties and the imposition of an all round increase in

the land tax had been omitted from the State platform because control of customs had passed to the federal government. Now the platform openly insulted Henry George by calling for the imposition of a progressive land tax and the repurchase of large estates. This last plank was made more acceptable to the haters of land monopoly by its insistence that the State should have the right to acquire large estates compulsorily. The Party also declared that it wanted a more equitable system of land allotment, by which it meant that the Land Boards, which allotted both new and repurchased lands, should be more considerate to men with little or no capital. In all this the Party was championing small land holders against larger. Henry George's dogma, to which the platform had formerly been sympathetic, required all land owners to be treated alike; any other policy was damned as "class" legislation. Though the strength of the dedicated Single Taxers within the Party had probably fallen with the growth of the trade unions, sympathy for George's general principles was still strong. The platform still proclaimed the Party's hostility to the alienation of Crown Lands and the exclusion of an all round increase in the land tax was only to be temporary. For the moment the determination to win seats in the country overcame the single tax sympathies. With these changes Labour's rural policy was almost the same as that of the radical liberals who had deserted Jenkins and with whom Labour was working in opposition. The only substantial difference

between them was that the liberals were not opposed to the alienation of Crown Lands.

The first Conference of the new Labour Party met in September 1904. Eight country branches sent delegates.¹¹⁴ All but one of the branches had been formed during 1904. Some localities had taken the initiative and formed their own; others had been organised by the Labour parliamentarians. The first Conference had little real work to do. The platform for the coming elections had already been drawn up by the Council. The chief business was to consider the new rules and these were adopted with only a few minor amendments. The Party's official purpose was now to secure the representation of "workers and other producers" in parliament. The draft clause had read "workers and producers", but this was amended by Conference to remove any slight on the workers and to acknowledge them as producers also.¹¹⁵ The claim of the new Party to be a "national" body representing workers and producers, town and country, was to be tested at the general elections in May 1905. For the first time the Labour Party fielded candidates for more than half the seats in the House of Assembly. In the metropolitan electorates candidates were nominated for all twelve vacancies. In the country at least one candidate was run in nine out of the ten electorates.¹¹⁶ In four country electorates branches conducted plebiscites to choose their candidates. For the other electorates, where organisation was still primitive, the

Council and the Executive chose the candidates, after consultation with the local members.¹¹⁷ Nearly all those chosen were local men: only one was a missionary of the sort which had been used exclusively in the country in the nineties.

At the elections the Labour Party was spectacularly successful in the metropolitan area where it won eleven out of the twelve seats. In the country many candidates were defeated, but the success of four was a heartening beginning. The radical liberals won nine country seats. When parliament met the Labour Party and the radical liberals voted together to defeat the Government by twenty-four votes to seventeen.¹¹⁸ This Government had only been in existence for a few months. Just before the elections Jenkins had resigned and taken refuge in London as the Agent General. His Attorney General, who was the National League's representative in cabinet, was appointed to the Supreme Court Bench. Butler, one of the two remaining ministers, had reconstituted the Government and attempted to salvage its liberal reputation, but in vain. He was replaced by a coalition ministry with Price of the Labour Party as Premier and Peake, leader of the radical liberals, as Treasurer. The alliance which had sustained Kingston and Holder was in power again, though with the position of the partners reversed.

Between the elections of 1902 and 1905 the Labour Party transformed itself. The National League, on the other hand, remained very much the same. The new Assembly, reported the League's President in 1902, was much "stronger" than the last,¹¹⁹ and with the

Jenkins ministry becoming less liberal the outlook for conservatism seemed bright. However, by 1904 the National League feared for the future. At the federal elections late in 1903 Labour won two metropolitan seats, helped Kingston retain the third, and secured all three places in the Senate. The leaders of the National League began to doubt whether they could persuade the State electorate to oppose what the Labour Party and the radical liberals were calling for, and what they feared most: an addition to the progressive land tax, compulsory repurchase of large estates, and the lowering of the Council franchise. The three members of the League's Council who held metropolitan seats in the Assembly were particularly anxious about the League's stand on the Council franchise. Again and again they asked the Executive and the Council to compromise, but after much deliberation they refused.¹²⁰ To

counter the demand for the bursting up of the large estates the League founded a front organisation, the Freehold Landowners Association. The two Council members chiefly responsible for organising this were Edward Hawker and J. J. Duncan. Hawker was a lawyer, metallurgist, and large land owner, the son of the pioneer pastoralist G. C. Hawker. His journal forms a valuable supplement to the minutes of meetings of the League's Council and Executive. Duncan was a fellow land holder who had inherited his wealth from the copper magnate W. W. Hughes. Hawker, Duncan, and the League's Secretary arranged a meeting of all large land

holders which formed the Freeholders Association and presumably provided the funds for a campaign to get the farmers to join it. A full-time organiser was sent from farm to farm to enrol members. The campaign does not seem to have been a great success and the Association did not long outlive the election. The organiser reported back to Hawker that some of the small farmers were in favour of the Labour programme.¹²¹

By the 1905 elections the campaign in the two largest metropolitan constituencies had resolved itself mainly into a contest between the Labour Party and the National League. Port Adelaide, the third and smallest electorate, was virtually conceded to the Labour Party. The men receiving the League's support for Adelaide and Torrens were no longer merely endorsed candidates; they had been brought out by the League and supported its programme wholeheartedly. Several of them were leading figures in the League's organisation, and among these was Edward Hawker who had been persuaded to stand for Adelaide. He and his colleagues had a difficult time on the hustings. Their meetings were disrupted and on one occasion furniture and windows were broken. However, Hawker was particularly pleased with one meeting. He met interjections about his joint ownership of Bungaree and other stations with figures on profit and loss and the amounts he and his brother spent on wages, rates, and improvements. "They got replies to their queries", he noted, "that they never expected".¹²²

They were the old replies, more suited to the age when it was a commonplace that the interests of capital and labour were one. They sound odd, and even pathetic, spoken in the midst of party warfare. Nevertheless it was a gallant last stand. His father would have been proud of him.¹²³

In the country the League had less work to do at the 1905 elections because in some places it retired in favour of a new body, the Farmers and Producers Political Union. In 1904 farmers in the South East and on Yorke Peninsula, acting independently of each other, formed local political associations. Both groups were afraid of the Labour Party and both wanted an independent organisation to represent farmers and producers. The South East farmers called themselves a Union, in token of their jealousy of the workers' organisations. The success of the Labour Party at the federal elections in 1903, the formation of the first Labour Government, and the attempt to include rural workers in the Arbitration Act, seem to have been the chief spurs to action. Apart from their opposition to Labour, the early members were happy to be vague about a specific political programme. At first there was no connection between the organisations in the two localities. The initial concern of each was to organise within the local Assembly electorate.¹²⁴ Then at the 1904 September Show the President of the South Eastern Union called a meeting to consider the formation of one body.

The constitution foreshadowed at this meeting was to be

distinctly federal, reflecting the movement's separate origins and the strong desire for independence. Very little power was to be given to the central organisation. The basic units of the new association were to be the Unions established in each Assembly electorate. Each Union would be a self governing body, with its own officers, and the sole discretion in selecting its parliamentary candidates. It would be constituted by the branches operating within the electorate.¹²⁵ This organisation was altogether different from the National League. Country branches in the National League were directly dependent on the central body and there were no organisations to control affairs within the electorates. Branches were consulted about candidates, but the final decision lay with the Council or Executive,¹²⁶ whose active members were Adelaide men. The strong central control of the National League was never challenged openly, but the formation of the Farmers' Unions was an indirect protest. Many of their foundation members had formerly belonged to the League.¹²⁷

Though the two foundation Unions were separate organisations, they both employed David Charleston, an otherwise unemployed politician, to help them with their organisation. Charleston had begun his career with the Labour Party and left it in 1897. He was elected to the Senate in 1901, but lost his seat to the Labour Party in 1903. Charleston went first to Yorke Peninsula and then to the South East. As interest in the new movement grew he was

also invited to visit other localities which were considering forming branches.¹²⁸ When the central Council was constituted he became general secretary. Plainly he was a key man. In November 1904 Hawker of the National League noted in his diary, "saw Duncan and Hogarth (the League's Secretary) about finding money for Charleston on condition that he tried to get the Farmers' Association in line with us".¹²⁹ The claim of the Labour Herald that Charleston was paid by city merchants was apparently not without foundation.¹³⁰

Delegates from the various Unions met in Adelaide in March 1905 to decide on a platform and appoint their first central Executive. The platform agreed on was more positive and less condemnatory than the National League's, but the only item which the League could not support was a willingness to see the Council franchise lowered to £20. The platform made no mention of compulsory repurchase or a progressive land tax, the central planks in the rural programmes of both the Labour Party and the radical liberals.¹³¹ The National League had reason to be pleased with this declaration. What part Charleston played in securing it is difficult to assess. The publicity about the new organisation, which inferred that the needs and desires of all farmers were the same, attracted some farmers with radical leanings.¹³² Charleston may have helped to discourage them from taking any further interest. The 1905 platform, then, reflected the attitude evident at the

beginning of the movement. The foundation members of the two Unions were as much afraid of the Labour Party, particularly the federal Labour Party, as the National League. They sometimes complained that the National League was too conservative, but they were more dissatisfied with its highly centralised organisation which reduced its chances of controlling the country.¹³³ They saw their own organisation as a more effective defence force.

With this declaration of policy, the way was open for electoral cooperation between the Farmers and Producers and the National League. Representatives of the two organisations conferred at a "distinctly friendly meeting".¹³⁴ In practice their agreement meant that the National League withdrew or partially withdrew from the areas where the Farmers and Producers were strongest, and supported their candidates.

After the victory of the Labour Party and the radical liberals at the polls, the Executive of the National League and three other members of its Council reviewed the League's platform and organisation. The League's Secretary presented this committee with a gloomy report. The only comfort he could offer was that in four country electorates the League's influence was "very marked" and that the Farmers and Producers had done no better than when the League had conducted the campaign in its territory. The chief trouble, said the Secretary very bluntly, was that a really conservative policy was not supported by the vast majority of the

electors. Some of the League's most ardent supporters in the country said it was impossible to organise branches in their district. Rather more delicately, the Secretary explained that because the League was "supposed" to represent Big Houses, Large Landowners and the wealthier classes, it was very difficult to secure voluntary service in the League's cause. "Let them fight their own battles" was the attitude. Nor was it very encouraging to see many members in the country deserting the League for the Farmers and Producers and for some to be voicing complaints at the League's conservatism. Plainly the Secretary thought it was time for the League to cease defending and start conceding. However, the committee to which he submitted this report was not ready to concede very much. The only alteration it proposed in the League's platform was to add to "the maintenance of the present franchise for the Legislative Council" the vague phrase "or equivalent", which indicated that the League was not opposed to change, so long as change left things unaltered.¹³⁵ This recommendation was accepted by the Council and was presented to the League's annual Conference for endorsement. There it met with some opposition, but after leading members of the Council pleaded that it was absolutely necessary to show the League was not inflexible on the franchise the new plank was carried unanimously.¹³⁶

The passage of this amendment is a good indication of how decisions were taken within the National League. The Council and

the Executive exercised complete control over the organisation.

In these last years they were constantly reviewing the platform and deliberating on strategy. When they reached a decision it was submitted to the general meeting where it was invariably accepted. Sometimes there was opposition from a dissatisfied Council member or from some branch member, especially when the platform was being "liberalised", but the dissentients were few and the tendency was to allow decisions to be made unanimously.¹³⁷

The relative power of the Executive and Council were not clearly defined. The Council met monthly and was supposed to be the governing body, but decisions were frequently taken by the Executive without reference to the Council. There was little need to define their functions closely since anyone prepared to devote himself to the League seems to have been given a place on the Executive and all the Executive were of course on the Council. The Council "elected" the Executive annually by a single resolution,¹³⁸ but extra members were sometimes appointed during the course of the year.¹³⁹ The men in control were of the same sort which Baker had assembled in 1891: merchants, financiers, professional men, and large landowners. The slightness of the amendment which they proposed for the franchise plank of their platform in 1905 indicated that they would not abandon Baker's ideals readily. Their next concession had to be forced from them.

The policy on which the Labour members had been elected in

1905 was abolition of the Legislative Council or failing that, adult suffrage for both Houses. The radical liberals were only prepared to reduce the Council's franchise from £25 to £15, so to the infinite frustration of the Labour members this was the policy of the Price-Peake coalition Government. In 1905 the Government sent up a Reform Bill to give the franchise to the £15 householder and his spouse. The Council rejected it by insisting on amendments which perverted the Bill's whole purpose.¹⁴⁰ Whatever its failures in Assembly elections, the National League was able to control nearly all the seats for the Legislative Council. In 1905 the Council also rejected bills for the compulsory repurchase of large estates and an increase in the progressive land tax. The following year Price sent up the Reform Bill again and threatened that if the Council rejected it he would ask for the dissolution of the Assembly. Throughout 1906 the National League Executive was wracked with indecision. Twice it met with the Parliamentary Opposition which pressed it to modify its platform on the franchise and land repurchase.¹⁴¹ A sub-committee of the Executive then reported in favour of reduction of the franchise to £15, but with the qualification resting on the rateable value of the house and not its rental value, as at present.¹⁴² Though this would represent some concession, its supporters within the League argued that the different qualification would be an advantage since it would be easier to establish who had a right to be on the

Roll.¹⁴³ Agreement still could not be reached and in September, the day before the annual meeting of the League, the Council finally resolved to leave the platform unaltered.¹⁴⁴ So at the annual meeting the burning issue of the day was not discussed. The question must finally have been one of tactics, for soon afterwards the Legislative Councillors offered £15 rateable value as a compromise solution. It was offered only for the householder (i.e. "the single vote") and not for householder and spouse ("the dual vote").¹⁴⁵ The Government was not prepared to accept this and obtained a dissolution of the Assembly. The candidates supported by the National League and the Farmers and Producers went to the people in support of the Council's compromise, and were routed. The nine radical liberals, who were granted immunity by the Labour Party, all retained their seats, whilst the Labour Party itself finally won all the metropolitan seats and increased its country representation from four to seven. It now held nineteen seats in a House of forty-two.

If the Council again rejected the Bill Price was in a position to invoke the deadlock provisions included in the constitution from 1881, but hitherto unused. He could ask for a double dissolution or for the election of two extra members for each Legislative Council district. Neither course seemed likely to alter the political complexion of the Council, but a double dissolution would, of course, give the Labour Party the chance to

increase its strength in the Assembly. The Council was still not prepared to accept the Government Bill, but its alternative proposals were a little more generous. They provided for the extension of the franchise to a householder actually paying £17 rent (and not merely occupying a house of £17 rental value) and to a miscellaneous group of people who might not pay rent: ministers of religion, schoolteachers, postmasters, stationmasters, and policemen in charge of a station. To the annoyance of many of his own party, Price decided to accept these proposals rather than continue the fight. Except for the granting of votes for women, this was the first change in the Council franchise since the constitution was adopted.¹⁴⁶

The issue was by no means settled. The Labour members, encouraged by their success at the 1906 dissolution, were eager to press on for adult suffrage.¹⁴⁷ The National League, on the other hand, altered its platform and asked electors to safeguard the constitution by maintaining the franchise sanctioned by parliament in 1907.¹⁴⁸

With the Labour Party in the ascendent, the co-operation between the National League and the Farmers and Producers strengthened. After the 1905 general election the executives of the two bodies met to consider their future relationship. The Farmers and Producers' representatives said they approved of the League's policy but thought the two organisations should remain separate since the small farmers might be won over to them, but

never to the League.¹⁴⁹ In fact, as has been shown, the Farmers and Producers' official policy was slightly less conservative than the League's, but its Executive probably wanted to make light of this difference in order to support their request for funds. "They wanted money", wrote Hawker with an endearing artlessness, "which we gave them".¹⁵⁰ The National League was very pleased to find them so friendly. The two executives agreed to co-operate again in the future as the need arose. Price's determination to pass his Reform Bill brought them together again sooner than they expected. In August 1906 a Standing Council was formed consisting of five members from each executive, in an effort to arrive at a common policy on the Council franchise.¹⁵¹ During the next thirteen months many meetings were held on this vexed issue. Agreement was difficult to arrive at because of the indecision within the National League leadership and the need of the Farmers' representatives to take account of their members' views.¹⁵² Nevertheless, during the 1906 election campaign joint advertisements appeared over the signatures of the Presidents of the two organisations urging support for the Council's compromise.¹⁵³ Fortunately no firm decision on policy was required in 1907 since Price agreed to accept the Council amendments instead of calling for a double dissolution. Once the Reform Bill was passed there was no substantial difference between the programmes of the two organisations. Both were now committed to the 1907 compromise.

In the following year, however, a new difference emerged. In March the annual delegates meeting of the Farmers and Producers amended its platform to include compulsory repurchase of large estates, though with a more gentle treatment of their owners than the Labour Party and the radical liberals intended.¹⁵⁴ At the Standing Council meeting in April the matter was discussed, and the Farmers' representatives argued that by conceding compulsory repurchase they could hope to stave off the other radical proposal, an increase in the progressive land tax.¹⁵⁵ Few, if any, of the Farmers and Producers members owned large estates, but with the rise in property values after the depression more substantial farmers would have been paying tax on the progressive scale and were liable to pay more if the Price-Peake proposals were passed.¹⁵⁶ In June a sub-committee of the National League's Council reported in favour of following the Farmers and adopting compulsory repurchase, with the proviso that each purchase would have to be approved by both Houses of Parliament. Despite this stringent condition, the President of the League, who was one of the three committeemen, dissented from this recommendation and the Council also refused to accept it.¹⁵⁷ To the League, as the representative of the large estate owners, compulsory repurchase still seemed as obnoxious as the progressive land tax.

Whatever their differences on policy, the two organisations continued to co-operate at elections. For the Senate, and to a

lesser extent for the House of Representatives, the Standing Council was able to choose the candidates whom both organisations would be willing to support.¹⁵⁸ However, arrangements for State elections and for some seats in the Representatives had to be made at the local level since the Farmers Unions were very jealous of their prerogative to make final decisions on candidates. In electorates where the two organisations were operating the local branches of each met to draw up a joint ticket. In the National League there were no regional organisations similar to the Farmers Unions, so the Secretary in Adelaide was closely involved in these arrangements. He usually attended the joint meetings to protect the League's interests.¹⁵⁹ The degree of control which he sought to exercise can be gauged from his injunction to a group of branches when he could not be present at the joint meeting. He urged them to remain loyal to the League and to make no final choice of candidates until the League "as an organisation" had reached its decision.¹⁶⁰ Sometimes, to the League's great annoyance, the Farmers Unions made decisions about candidates without waiting to consult the League. The Standing Council agreed that no candidate should be chosen without joint consultation, but within the federal structure of the Farmers and Producers the Executive could exercise little or no control over the constituent Unions. The National League, which had no trouble controlling its members, requested the Farmers and Producers to have a resolution passed at their

annual meeting requiring Unions to consult with the League before they made any choice. The Executive replied that any direction to the Unions about choosing candidates would be unconstitutional.¹⁶¹ After this interchange a group of Unions transgressed again. Without waiting to hear the National League's views they announced their candidate for a House of Representatives seat. The Farmers' Executive attended the next Executive meeting of the League and apologised for the "disgraceful action" of their members, but nothing could be done to revoke it.¹⁶² The National League reluctantly accepted their candidate as its own.¹⁶³ It knew very well it would be fatal to duplicate candidates: the alliance with the Farmers was specifically designed to avoid that. The problems involved in an alliance between a highly centralised body and a loose federation were not solved until the two organisations were fused together.

Although the National League had been in operation for fourteen years before the Farmers and Producers was founded, the younger organisation soon established itself as the leading conservative body in five out of the nine country electorates. The National League's strongholds were in the four electorates encompassing the older agricultural districts immediately around Adelaide.¹⁶⁴ Several factors might explain why the country divided its allegiance in this way. Land in the four inner electorates was settled prior to 1870, before the State was providing credit

for land or laying out townships. Here there were more tenant farmers, more large estates with resident proprietors, and sharper social distinctions than in the more recently settled lands. Since the districts were old they were well provided with public works and amenities, and because they were well watered, incomes were more certain. The National League, with its fear of the lower orders and of State interference, could successfully appeal to the dominant class in these areas. Sometimes when the poorer farmers managed to determine the outcome of elections these districts produced aberrations - an Ebenezer Ward in the seventies and a Labour member for Encounter Bay in the nineties - but generally the National League could regard them as "safe". The comparative failure of the National League in the five outer electorates was partly because its philosophy was less suited to the social and physical environment, but chiefly on account of its refusal to allow local autonomy to its branches. In the eighties these outer areas had been the strongholds of the Farmers Mutual Association and the payment of members campaigners. Having led the movement for the removal of Adelaide parliamentarians, the inhabitants of these districts were naturally the most suspicious of an Adelaide-controlled party. They were attracted instead to the Farmers and Producers which allowed one district to co-operate with another while allowing each to run its own affairs.

The membership of the Farmers and Producers was not confined to the five outer electorates, nor the League's to the four inner. These, broadly, were the areas of their greatest strength. The League retained members in some of the outer electorates, but their number was probably diminishing. In the northern wheatlands many branches were defunct and the Secretary reported that it was almost impossible to revive them. This was hostile territory. At Crystal Brook, where the Farmers Association had been founded, two people attended a public meeting to hear the League's Secretary speak in March 1903. At Narridy he drew a large audience, but he could not persuade anyone to join the League. "At Yongala, Mundoora and Redhill", said the Secretary, "it was impossible to arouse any interest whatsoever".¹⁶⁵ In the South East the situation was not quite so bad, but the League had to struggle to survive. One of the foundation Unions of the Farmers and Producers had begun here and robbed the National League of much of its support. However, some of the large estate owners still wanted the League to persevere. They paid to keep one of the League's organisers in the South East, but he found it very difficult to make any headway against the Farmers and Producers.¹⁶⁶ On Yorke Peninsula, which had produced the other foundation Union, the League was also in difficulties. In 1909 the Secretary claimed that the League was the stronger organisation, but the following year he was afraid the League's members were about to join the

Farmers.¹⁶⁷ While the League's influence was contracting in the outer electorates, the Farmers and Producers were gradually establishing branches, and then Unions, within the old agricultural districts around Adelaide.¹⁶⁸ The League continued to supply the Farmers and Producers with funds,¹⁶⁹ but its leaders were disturbed when, despite their sweet words, the Farmers openly attacked the League and seemed bent on supplanting it altogether.¹⁷⁰ Some commercial men, losing faith in the League, gave financial assistance to the Farmers direct.¹⁷¹ With all this, the League still claimed its membership was increasing. Certainly its annual meetings were better attended and the audience more enthusiastic. The enthusiasm and the new members probably came from Adelaide, not the country. With the complete success of the Labour Party in the metropolitan electorates and the disappearance of the city liberals, the two-party system was established in Adelaide some years before the country came under its sway. The National League could not win seats in Adelaide for either the Assembly or the House of Representatives, but the votes of its supporters were important for Legislative Council and Senate elections. The National League appointed special organisers for the city and devoted an increasing amount of its attention to it.¹⁷² Here, at least, its work could not be undermined by the Farmers and Producers.

After six years of living together, the National League and the Farmers and Producers were formally united in 1910 as the

senior partners in a new body, the Liberal Union. To effect the union the National League had to forego much of its political programme and accept an entirely different form of organisation. For this it had been preparing itself, almost unawares, during the six years of the alliance. In itself the National League remained unaltered: a self appointed group of perhaps twenty men, with access to commercial and landed wealth, led a band of loyal supporters. Yet in pursuit of their aim of keeping radicalism at bay, the leaders of the National League increasingly became involved with a much more diffuse and unpredictable organisation. They gave money to support its programme, which was generally less conservative than their own, and to its candidates, whose nomination they did not control. In 1904 the Labour Party had realised that the country had to be given autonomy in its own affairs and a chance of influencing the party's: the Farmers and Producers was teaching the National League the same lesson.¹⁷³

In June 1909 the coalition between the Labour Party and Peake's liberals was dissolved. After its victory at the 1906 dissolution the Labour Party had become more and more dissatisfied with the coalition Government. Labour contributed nineteen members to the alliance and the liberals nine, yet the liberals had equal representation in cabinet, and the Government was limited to their policy on the Council franchise. At the 1906 dissolution the Labour Party had granted immunity to its liberal allies, but with

the prospect of a Labour majority now imminent the Party would not commit itself for the next general election and at by-elections refused to co-operate with the liberals.¹⁷⁴ Early in 1909 Peake and his party began to put out vague feelers towards the more liberal section of the Opposition, that is to members supported by the Farmers and Producers rather than the National League.¹⁷⁵ The break between the two groups came suddenly with the death of Price in May. Peake, who had been acting Premier during Price's last illness, formed a new government solely from the ranks of his own party of nine members, the "nimble nine" as they were aptly called. With the support of the Opposition the new Government managed to survive the 1909 parliamentary session. It could count on twenty-one votes as opposed to Labour's twenty.¹⁷⁶ The Labour Party was furious at Peake's "treachery" and the injustice of the largest party in the Assembly being kept from office. Though Labour may have won the propaganda war, it was clearly the party responsible for the breaking of the alliance. With his former friends planning his destruction, Peake took the premiership to strengthen his position in the negotiations which now commenced with his former enemies.

Peake and the "nimble nine" were supported by an extra-parliamentary organisation, the Liberal and Democratic Union, which had been established in 1906. It was the weakest of the four political parties. The parliamentary party had founded it, filled

all its offices, and sustained it. Rather late in the day they were attempting to establish a firm basis of support between the Labour Party on the one hand and the two opposition parties on the other. However, the Liberal and Democratic Union does not seem to have grown much beyond the personal following of its parliamentary founders.¹⁷⁷ Its parliamentary strength, admittedly, was considerable - the National League and the Farmers and Producers between them only returned thirteen members - yet its nine men were now liable for the first time to competition from the Labour Party. The Democrats had less than twelve months to establish new allies who might protect them. The next election, which only the Labour Party was eager to contest, was due to be held early in 1910.

Although the three minor parties were equally afraid of the Labour Party and were all conscious of the advantages that greater unity would bring, they were still separated by considerable differences in policy. The Liberal and Democratic Union advocated compulsory repurchase, an increase in the progressive land tax, and a further lowering of the Legislative Council franchise. The Farmers and Producers was in favour of the first principle, but opposed to the other two; while the National League was opposed to all three. Neither the National League nor the Liberal and Democratic Union was prepared to contemplate a union which would embrace each other. They were prepared to unite only

with the Farmers and Producers. The aim of that organisation was to promote a union of all three.¹⁷⁸ As the middle party it could expect that the policy of the tripartite union would be close to its own, and in any case it had always been inclined to consider that effective organisation was more important than policy. However, despite its efforts, the National League and the Democrats would not be brought together and negotiations were for the moment limited to proposals for two-party fusions.

To bring itself into line with the Farmers and Producers, the Executive of the National League finally abandoned its opposition to compulsory repurchase. What a concession that was! The leader of the organisation which had been formed to protect landed property now conceded to the State the power to acquire large estates compulsorily. However, the Executive was careful to protect the large estate owners by adding several provisos to its new policy.¹⁷⁹ These the Farmers and Producers thought too restricting. Negotiations broke down when the National League insisted that the State should have no right over a large estate whose owner was cultivating at least one third of his arable land.¹⁸⁰ Nonetheless, the Executive recommended the 1909 Conference to adopt this new policy so that negotiations might be resumed on this basis. The Executive members moving the motion calmed the meeting with the assurance that the large land owners themselves had framed the policy, which was then adopted

with only four dissentients.¹⁸¹

Negotiations between the Farmers and Producers and the Democratic Union advanced further. At the time of the annual conference in September the two executives agreed on a platform and the Democrats withdrew their earlier demand that the Farmers guarantee support for all their sitting members at the next election. The Farmers and Producers Conference then had to decide whether to endorse the agreement reached with the Democrats or to urge its Executive to continue discussions with the National League. The general feeling was still for an amalgamation of all three parties, but since that could not be immediately achieved, the Farmers were divided on the tactical question of whom it would be best to join with first. They decided to remit the proposed basis of union for the consideration of the branches and to continue discussion with the National League.¹⁸² The decision to seek the opinion of the total membership was typical of the Farmers and Producers organisation which was always reluctant, even at a general meeting, to make final decisions on matters of dispute. The result of the referendum was a vote against union with the Democrats and in favour of an eventual fusion with the National League.¹⁸³

By this time the elections were too close for any further proposals to be entertained and the three parties now devoted themselves to stop-gap arrangements for electoral co-operation. These were made easier by the reconstruction of the Peake ministry

in December to include representatives of the other two parties. In all but three electorates the parties were able to agree on joint candidates.¹⁸⁴

The result of the election hastened the movement for complete fusion. The Labour Party obtained a clear majority and John Verran formed the first pure Labour ministry. The federal elections, held a few days after the State's, returned Labour majorities to both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Immediately after these defeats both the National League and the Democratic Union accepted the invitation of the Farmers and Producers to discuss the formation of a united party. In July 1910 eight representatives from each of the three organisations met to draw up a platform and constitution for what was to be known as the Liberal Union.¹⁸⁵ The platform was ready for submission to the annual meetings of the three organisations in September.¹⁸⁶ It began, as did the Labour Party's platform, with a statement about the all-important Legislative Council: the Liberal Union, not unexpectedly, called for its maintenance. Yet on the question of the Council franchise it was decidedly liberal, conceding household suffrage (single vote). It was only during the previous year that the Liberal and Democratic Union, the radical member of the Union, had changed its platform on the franchise from the £15 householder to household suffrage (dual vote).¹⁸⁷ Except for denying the franchise to the Householder's wife, the National League and the Farmers and Producers were now prepared to

follow the Democrats. The Labour Party's success with adult suffrage was pressing on them all. The National League had already yielded on compulsory repurchase, and its disagreement with the Farmers and Producers over the details was resolved in the new platform by the simple statement that compulsory repurchase must be subject to "fair conditions". The platform made no mention of any increase in the progressive land tax. In this the National League and the Farmers had their way, but the Democrats may have been more willing to yield since the federal Labour Government, with majorities in both Houses, was about to introduce a bill for a progressive land tax. This was how the matters in dispute between the three organisations were settled. For the rest the platform gave its support to what were already established as settled policies.¹⁸⁸ The platform was accepted unanimously at the Farmers and Producers Conference, with three dissentients at the National League's, and only met serious resistance at the Democrats' meeting, where it was carried by a majority of one.¹⁸⁹ The opposition within the Democratic Union was led by its President, E. H. Coombe M.P., who was not happy with the Council franchise being limited to the householder. He was the only non-Labour politician who did not join the new Union. At the next election he stood as an independent and was defeated. He then joined the Labour Party and regained his old seat.

The adoption of this programme meant that the sting was

soon taken from the compulsory repurchase and Council franchise issues. In 1910 the Labour Government sent up a Compulsory Repurchase Bill to the Council. Since the National League's 1909 programme and that of the Liberal Union both supported compulsory repurchase, the Legislative Councillors were now obliged to accept the Bill. However, they interpreted the Liberal Union's requirement of "fair conditions" to mean the conditions previously insisted upon by the National League. They inserted an amendment to prevent the State acquiring an estate where the owner was cultivating at least one third of the arable land, the condition which the Farmers and Producers had specifically rejected. The Councillors also extended the period of notice from six months to two years, and gave the owner greater protection in the fixing of a price and the retention of land around the head station.¹⁹⁰ These amendments the Government was forced to accept in order to get the Bill passed.¹⁹¹ After creating so much political turmoil, the provisions of the Compulsory Repurchase Act were never invoked.¹⁹² The Act may have encouraged some owners to offer their estates to the government, but the progressive taxation of both State and Federal governments and the high price of land did more to bring large estates onto the market.¹⁹³ Conceding even the principle of compulsory repurchase was a humiliation for the National League, but the principle was all the electorate seemed to want. The issue was not reopened despite the many limitations which the Council had

put on the operation of the Act. The owners of large estates suffered much at the hands of the radicals, but not the final indignity of having their land forcibly taken from them.

While the Verran Labour Government was in power the Legislative Council rejected bills which would have introduced adult suffrage for the Council and limited its power to a suspensive veto. After the first Liberal Union Government took office in 1912, the Legislative Council accepted a Government Bill for household suffrage (single vote).¹⁹⁴ The concession of household suffrage in the Liberal Union's platform was subject to the rather sinister qualification: "rearrangement of the Council districts, or effective voting", but the Government merely used this to sanction a proposal to divide the one metropolitan district (which returned six instead of the usual four members) into two districts, each returning four members. This proposal incidentally increased Adelaide's share of the Council's membership, but it was designed to remove Labour's hold on the existing central district. At this time Labour members held all six metropolitan seats. By dividing the city roughly into the "respectable" and "less respectable" areas the Liberal Union hoped to be able to win some city seats. Labour's claim that this was a gerrymander was scarcely justified and when the tide turned against the Labour Party, it probably benefited by the division. On these terms, then, the dreaded principle of household suffrage was finally made law. The National League's

propaganda had always held that to concede this much would lead to the overthrow of the Council, but when household suffrage became the policy of the Liberal Union, dissatisfaction with the Council and its franchise was confined to the ranks of the Labour Party. In these circumstances household suffrage was comparatively "safe", since the defence of the Council's privileges now lay not in the hands of a small minority, but with one party in a two-party system; and with the party, moreover, which could reasonably expect to control the Council. In fact from 1913 to the present day Labour has only rarely managed to win more than the four Council seats allotted to one of the metropolitan districts.

When the three minor parties accepted the one platform in September 1910 the Liberal Union was taken as being established. Yet at this time the eight delegates from each party had still to draw up the constitution for the new body. While this would not have to be formally approved by the old parties, the success of the new would depend on its giving general satisfaction. The constitution which the committee adopted followed the practice of the three parties in giving to an annual Conference of branch delegates the control of the party's platform and constitution.¹⁹⁵ For all other aspects of party government the committee produced an interesting combination of the constitutions of the National League and the Farmers and Producers. The central bodies of the new Union were very similar to the National League's. There was a governing Council,

which was to elect the Executive, which in turn was to appoint sub-committees to administer organisation, finance and electoral matters. But this central machinery was controlled and limited according to the federal principles of the Farmers and Producers' constitution. In the National League the Council was theoretically elected by the annual Conference and in practice appointed by the Executive. In the new party the district committees in the various electorates were each to appoint ten delegates to compose the Council. The Council was to meet at least twice each year in February and September, at the time of the Autumn and Spring Shows. The Council would elect the Executive in September when most of its members would be present, and not in October which had been the practice of the National League. In the electorates organisation was to follow the pattern established by the Farmers and Producers. Branches in the one electorate would constitute a district committee which was given autonomy on matters of "internal management". In assenting to all this, the National League delegates had allowed for an organisation quite different from the one they had known. Yet presumably it was they who insisted that district committee decisions on matters other than internal management would require the endorsement of the Council. In the original constitution these matters included the choice of parliamentary candidates. However, in 1911 the constitution was amended to allow district committees complete discretion in the choice of candidates,¹⁹⁶ so a cardinal principle of the Farmers

and Producers' constitution was embodied in that of the Liberal Union.

The formation of the Liberal Union meant that there was no longer any political organisation devoted solely to representing Adelaide interests. The metropolitan trade unions had widened their organisation in 1904, and now the National League, the instrument of metropolitan capitalists, ceased to exist. Almost from the beginning the leaders of the National League had been making concessions in their policy. They had abandoned their opposition to free education and payment of members; they were forced to yield on the Council franchise; and finally, when they decided that their best interest lay in belonging to one party in a two-party system, they conceded household suffrage and compulsory repurchase. As has been shown, these last two sacrifices did not in the event prove very heavy, yet in joining the Liberal Union the leaders of the National League would be called on for continuous sacrifice, as it were, since they could not expect to control the new party as they had their own. Whether they would submit to this discipline remained to be seen. The funds which metropolitan capitalists had supplied to the League would be one of the chief assets of the Liberal Union; but would Adelaide's wealth be compatible with the country's desire for independence?

When the Liberal Union was formed the Labour Party had been operating under its new constitution for six years. That constitution had also been designed to weld Adelaide and country members harmoniously together, yet the Party was already very different from the one which the framers of the 1904 constitution had envisaged.

The settlement of 1904 was made on the eve of great changes in the trade union movement. With the return of prosperity, and the establishment of wages boards and the Federal Arbitration Court, the number of unions and union members increased rapidly.¹⁹⁷ As part of this expansion, unionism in the country became much stronger. Old associations were revived and new ones formed in Gawler, the Yorke Peninsula mining towns, and the new industrial centre of Port Pirie; and unionism spread to the smaller towns as city unions began to open country branches.¹⁹⁸ Of most significance for the history of the Party was the burgeoning of the two unions which organised unskilled workers on a State-wide basis: the Australian Workers and the United Labourers. The membership of the A.W.U. - still drawn chiefly from the shearers - was growing quickly following the return of good seasons in 1904.¹⁹⁹ The U.L.U. was formed in 1907 as a successor to the Builders Labourers Union which then had thirty members. The aim of the new body was to incorporate all labourers into one union.²⁰⁰ Within two years it had 1,000 members and in 1914, when it was amalgamated with the A.W.U., it had 3,500 members

to add to the A.W.U.'s 5,450.²⁰¹ The U.L.U. organised fruit pickers, salt scrapers, railway navvies, and labourers on a variety of public works projects.²⁰² The union movement was becoming larger and more diverse, both in the occupations it catered for, and in its geographical extent. It was very different from the movement that founded the Labour Party, which had been largely confined to skilled tradesmen and the metropolitan area.

The political sympathies of the trade unions also became more diverse. In the years after 1904 some trade unionists, disillusioned at the Labour Party's failure to effect spectacular changes, wanted it to adopt more radical and more socialistic proposals.²⁰³ None was more dissatisfied with the local Party than the leaders of the A.W.U. and the U.L.U. Under their leadership an industrial wing emerged within the Party which questioned the principles embodied in the 1904 constitution. It was opposed to pandering to the dozen individuals who might compose a country local branch. It wanted instead a more narrowly based organisation, limited to the working classes or at least completely controlled by them. It despised the Party for its poverty and caution and was highly suspicious of the Labour parliamentarians who, as well as being poor representatives of the workers, filled nearly all the places on the Party's Executive.²⁰⁴ The leader of this opposition group was F. W. Lundie,²⁰⁵

Secretary of the A.W.U., and President of the U.L.U. When Lundie and his followers thought of the country they thought primarily of the country workingmen; whereas the framers of the 1904 constitution and platform were chiefly concerned with the farmers.

The Labour parliamentarians had been members of both the platform and constitution sub-committees in 1904. They formed a majority on the constitution committee, which was originally formed to promote country organisation. Batchelor, a federal member, had moved for the establishment of the committee and the Herald reported that Price, the leader of the local parliamentary Party, was the first to suggest the creation of an annual conference to give country branches representation.²⁰⁶ The constitution seems to have been the work of the parliamentarians. Certainly it was they who worked to implement its ideal of a State-wide organisation. Since the Party could not afford paid organisers, the task of forming country branches fell to the parliamentarians. They made innumerable trips to the country, visiting villages and hamlets as well as the larger towns, and in the most surprising places left behind them new branches of the Party and new shareholders in the projected Labour daily newspaper.²⁰⁷ In these local branches farmers, gardeners, journalists and tradesmen worked together with artisans and labourers.²⁰⁸ Quite frequently country branches asked parliamentarians to represent them at Conference. The parliamentarians were glad of the opportunity because as a group they were only

allowed to send two delegates.

Once country branches were established they sometimes invited a group of Labour politicians to return for what was termed a Labour Demonstration. A whole weekend could be given over to meetings and entertainments. At Renmark Price charmed a large audience with his lantern lecture on New Zealand and at Hamley Bridge the visiting parliamentarians were supported by the United Labour Party Brass Band, which played in the streets, at the Labour Picnic Sports, and at a concert and dance in the Institute on Saturday night. On Sunday Price, who was himself a Methodist local preacher, might be invited to speak from the pulpit, and the Sunday evening meeting at which the Labour Members spoke on Christian Socialism was standard practice. How could the Labour parliamentarians better demonstrate that their party was open to all?²⁰⁹ To the parliamentarians and their notion of the party, Lundie and his followers were resolutely opposed.

The opposition view of what the Labour Party should be took no account of the composition of electorates, let alone the existence of a conservative Upper House. In only two country electorates out of nine could the Party rely on a large working-class vote. The Yorke Peninsula mining towns comprised more than half the population of the Wallaroo electorate, and Port Pirie a good proportion, though much less than half, of Stanley. With its candidates coming solely from the mining towns, the Party

eventually held all three seats in Wallaroo in 1912. The three Stanley seats were all won by 1910 with a judicious blending of candidates: a Port Pirie labourer, a Gladstone farmer, and Laura's newspaper proprietor. Here the Party had to rely on smaller centres to support its solid Port Pirie vote. Elsewhere building majorities was a much more laborious process and the reliance on smaller centres much stronger. Yet the Party had to be successful in other country electorates before it could govern. At the 1910 elections, which gave the Party a majority in the Assembly for the first time, four seats were won in three other country electorates. Shearers, railwaymen and town labourers provided a basis from which to work in these electorates, but they were not sufficient, and the Party's opponents conceded that Labour also attracted small farmers and tradesmen.²¹⁰ To gain and keep this support the Labour parliamentarians fostered local branches with the promise that they would have a voice in the Party's councils.

At first the A.W.U. was disposed to accept the necessity for local branches and to work to shape them according to "true labour" principles. In 1908 it sent its political organiser to tour the country districts. He formed new branches and attempted to revive or revitalise old ones. The Labour parliamentarians were busy with the same work as the Party could still not afford its own full time paid organiser. However, the A.W.U. appointment was not welcomed very enthusiastically by the Party leaders, who felt

that a special A.W.U. organiser would frighten people away.

Only one of the Labour parliamentarians co-operated with the

A.W.U. man.²¹¹ This was scarcely surprising since the group which the

A.W.U. led within the Party was clamouring for new rules to

keep parliamentarians off the Party's Executive and to pull them

out of parliament if they offended.²¹² The two rival groups with-

in the Party were now both at work in the country.

The reports of the A.W.U. organiser on his work read very much like the sharper passages of St. Paul's letters. Everywhere he went he found backsliders, false teaching, and improper associations. At Wallaroo he spoke in the "Workers Hall" and was then charged ten shillings for its hire. The local party assured him that their organisation could not be improved upon, but when he canvassed the district he found many people unaware that a federal by-election was imminent. In many districts, even those with Labour representatives, he discovered Party members advocating a corrupted version of the Labour programme. To these he had to explain what the Party's "true objective" was. The A.W.U. officials and the organiser blamed the existence of the Price-Peake coalition Government, to which the A.W.U. had been opposed from the beginning, for this laxity in the country branches. Indeed, in some places the organiser heard that the Peake liberals were actually invited to the local Labour socials. How foolish that was, he reasoned with the offenders, if the socials were to have any political

significance at all.²¹³ To the Labour parliamentarians this would have been no sin. On their excursions to the country a wide attendance at social meetings was encouraged. The parliamentarians considered the country branches as a means to collect votes, but the A.W.U. was more concerned that they adopt its own exclusive doctrine. After two years of country organising the A.W.U. despaired of ever achieving this. The South Australian branch asked the A.W.U. National Conference to agree to the withdrawal of the political organiser. The organiser himself, with more insight, now blamed the demography of South Australia, and not the coalition, for the state of the Labour Party in the country. South Australia was distinctive, he said, because apart from a few large centres the country was composed of small districts and these were not inclined to accept solid Labour principles. The other delegates were not convinced that the state was so distinctive and they thought the work should continue.²¹⁴ The decision to retain a political organiser was forced on the South Australian branch and it does not seem to have used an organiser again in the country.²¹⁵ After failing to win the country branches over, it was more prepared to attack them. In the South East and around Port Augusta in the North, A.W.U. members were themselves participants in local branch affairs. Relationships between them and the farmers and townsmen who comprised the rest of the branch membership were not always harmonious. In both districts disputes about plebiscites and candidates had to be referred to the Council and Conference for

settlement.²¹⁶

The coalition Government to which the A.W.U. had taken such exception broke up in June 1909 after the death of Price. Judged by any standards other than Lundie's the alliance had been particularly fruitful. With both parties having equal representation in cabinet, the co-operation between them was much closer than it had been under Kingston and Holder. Price was forced to make some concessions in order to secure Peake's support, but the Legislative Council put far more limitations on the Labour programme. On the crucial issue of the Council franchise the Labour Party felt the restrictions of the coalition most keenly; yet the Council would have found it much easier to stand firm against the Labour platform of adult suffrage than it did against the Government's request for the £15 franchise. Though the compromise £17 franchise was a disappointment to the Labour Party, the Government's campaign against the Council on the franchise issue helped the Legislative Councillors to change their mind on wages board legislation. The Factory Act of 1900 had provided for the creation of wage boards, but the Legislative Council had resolutely refused to approve the regulations necessary to establish them. In the sessions immediately after the 1906 election the Council agreed to two Factory Bills under which a number of boards were established and provision made for their extension to other trades.²¹⁷ The Government also succeeded in

passing legislation for the inspection of scaffolding and shearers' accommodation,²¹⁸ and in the 1907 budget it introduced a minimum wage for all government workers of 7/- a day, the amount requested by the Labour platform.²¹⁹ The Democratic Liberals were even prepared to support more socialistic proposals; and measures were passed for the municipalisation of Adelaide's tramways and the establishment of a Metropolitan Abattoirs Board.²²⁰ The Price-Peake Government had the good fortune to come to office just as prosperity was returning. This enabled it to begin locking the Murray, to construct new railways, and to introduce a system of free secondary school education.²²¹ Little of this record of achievement would have impressed Lundie who would not be satisfied with less than a spectacular improvement in the lot of the workers and the humbling of the capitalist class. He must have felt little sorrow at the death of Price who had been the architect of the coalition and of the plan to bring country branches into the Party's governing structure. Price had been very popular and his death was widely mourned in the community at large. What better indication could there be that he was not a true friend of the worker?

Price's death ended the radical alliance which was first established after the 1893 elections. For twelve out of the following sixteen years it had been the ruling alliance. At its beginning Adelaide had been represented by Labour members with some

liberal support and the country almost solely by liberals. In 1909 the Labour Party held all the metropolitan seats and eight country seats, as opposed to the liberals' nine. It seemed set to encompass the radical alliance within its own ranks. Yet the Conference held in September 1909, immediately after the break-up of the coalition, witnessed the first major attack on the principle that the Labour Party could be a farmers' as well as a workers' organisation.

At this stage, the Labour Party was composed of three main groups.²²² The militant trade unionists with socialist leanings, led by the A.W.U. and the U.L.U.; the centre group consisting of the moderate trade unionists and most of the parliamentarians; and the Single Taxers, strong in the Democratic Associations, and with sympathisers in the unions and the support of several leading parliamentarians. The country branches would generally align themselves with the centre group. Between 1904 and 1914 delegates from country branches and their electoral committees accounted on average for about 30% of the membership at Labour Party Conferences.²²³ At the 1909 conference there were thirty-seven country delegates in a total of 136, or 27%. Eighty-two delegates, or 60% of the total, came from the trade unions. The balance was made up by the representatives of the labour parliamentarians, the three metropolitan electoral committees and the Adelaide Democratic Associations. The chief business of the 1909 Conference was to draw up a new political programme in preparation for the

1910 elections. The existing programme was the one adopted by the Council in 1904 when the policy and constitution of the Party were changed to win the country's support. The most notable change which had then been made in the platform was the abandoning of the tax on unimproved land values and the inclusion of the progressive land tax and compulsory repurchase. At the 1909 Conference the Single Taxers attempted to overthrow the progressive tax and reinstate a general rise in the taxation of all properties. The three country delegates who took part in this debate all defended the existing platform. One of them spoke eloquently in favour of the progressive tax. He said that many country people still believed that Labour was a metropolitan movement, but it was the progressive tax that had won them over. They understood and supported it, and it would be fatal to overthrow it. The Conference agreed with him and the Single Taxers' motion was defeated. However, it was revived later in a form designed to be more palatable. The second motion made no mention of the progressive tax and asked instead for the abolition of the income tax, the reduction of railway freights, and for an all round increase in the land tax. This motion finally passed after the exemption from the income tax had been limited to the incomes of primary producers and the pill had been sugared further by the promise of increased road grants to districts without railways.²²⁴ Plainly the Conference still wanted to give the appearance of

helping the farmers, but however much it was qualified, a policy of increasing the land tax was directed against the farmer and particularly the small farmer. The farmer had no guarantee that the amount he would save by the abolition of the income tax would not be exceeded by his extra land tax payments. The small farmer seemed certain to lose by the transfer of taxation from income to land. He paid little or no income tax, since small incomes were exempt, but all holdings were subject to the land tax. The new platform by no means retreated to the position of the nineties: progressive taxation and compulsory repurchase, first introduced in 1904, were both retained. However, the Party had again allowed its sympathy for the taxation of unimproved land values to override its aim of appealing to country as well as town.

The Single Taxers bore the farmers no animus, even though their programme was unlikely to be acceptable to them. By contrast, the opposition of the A.W.U. and the U.L.U. to the farmers was explicit and derived from their insistence on the need for the supremacy of the working classes within the Party. During the 1909 Conference the delegates from the A.W.U. and U.L.U. consistently poured scorn on any suggestion that the Party should defer to the wishes of the farmer. The debate on the Legislative Council franchise set the pattern. The question at issue was whether the platform should be altered to state categorically that the Party aimed at the abolition of the Council. Two country delegates urged that a statement in favour of adult suffrage was quite sufficient for the moment and

that abolition need not be mentioned. Then Lundie spoke. He had been into the country, he said, and he had never heard any fears about abolition. On the contrary, country people considered a second House a waste of money.²²⁵ Clearly Lundie and the country delegates mixed in different company. When the Conference was debating a motion that government housing be provided for the working classes, a similar clash occurred. A country delegate opposed the motion because it would give country people the impression that the Party favoured the city workers too much. An Engineering Union delegate declared he was tired of hearing what the country thought and Lundie weighed in heavily in support. He said the Party would be criticised whatever its platform and that this was an excellent object to be flogged about. On the Council franchise plank Lundie had his way, but on this occasion an amendment sponsored by the parliamentarians was carried, which provided for advances to workers for homes on the same lines as the Advances to Settlers Act.²²⁶ If the country delegates were frightened at the position adopted by the left wing on these issues, what must they have thought of the socialist motions for State ownership of mines, flourmills, and the food-supply and tobacco industries? No debate was recorded on these motions. They were all defeated.²²⁷ The left wing, like the single tax clique, was pressing heavily on the centre group, the guardian of the 1904 settlement. Some concessions were granted, but the centre group was still in control.

The results of the 1910 elections seemed to bear out Lundie's dictum that the Labour Party should boldly declare what it believed in without pandering to the electorate. Even with a more radical proposal on the Legislative Council and the re-introduction of the general land tax Labour obtained a majority of seats in the House of Assembly. Nevertheless the events of the next eighteen months were to prove that it was possible for the labour movement to offend the electorate. Like the Price-Peake ministry, the Verran Government was pre-occupied with constitutional issues. After the first parliamentary session, however, its effectiveness was limited because with the transfer of the Northern Territory to the Commonwealth, the Labour Party lost one member and the absolute majority necessary for passing constitutional amendments. During 1910 the Government had been able to submit an Adult Suffrage Bill for the Council's rejection, but in 1911 it had to adopt other measures. With the support of Coombe, the one independent member, it passed a bill through the Assembly to limit the Council's power to a suspensive veto. This was the principle which the House of Lords had recently accepted. Any advantage which the Government enjoyed because of the capitulation of the peers was more than offset by the fact that the measure had not been placed before the people at the previous general election. The Legislative Councillors, more secure than their Lordships, rejected the Veto Bill. The Government's other and more desperate tactic was to

include amounts for the establishment of State timber yards and brick works in the Appropriation Bill and so invite the Council to reject it. The Council willingly obliged - and with perfect propriety, since no Bill or motion had been passed to authorise the establishment of these undertakings. After the rejection of the Veto Bill the Government had appealed for the intervention of the British Government. Now, faced with the necessity for capitulation it telegraphed the Secretary of State for an urgent reply. He answered that the British Government would not consider intervening until all constitutional procedures had been exhausted, a decision which the Government must have expected. Since the Governor refused to sign emergency warrants, the Government had to resubmit its estimates shorn of the objectionable items. It then called a general election.²²⁸

On the constitutional issue the Government had a very poor and muddled case to present to the electors, but its whole position had been undermined because of the series of strikes which had occurred while it was in office. The U.L.U. had led several of these, and during a strike of railway navvies Lundie had denounced the Labour Premier who in turn said he would stand firm against the revolutionary socialists.²²⁹ The drivers' strike of December 1910 was the most notorious. While a dispute over the jurisdiction of its wages board languished in the High Court, the Drivers' Union, egged on and supported by the U.L.U., decided to

take direct action. In December 1910 it struck for an eight hour day and 8/- a day. Initially public sympathy was with the strikers and many employers agreed to the Union's conditions. However, the Union forfeited this advantage by its treatment of drivers outside its ranks. Trolleys driven by non-union labour were seized, moral persuasion was supplemented by man-handling, and captured vehicles were led in triumph to the Trades Hall. The Government was placed in an embarrassing position. For several days the police did not interfere, but finally they were instructed to restore "law and order". What might have been a clear victory for the drivers ended with both sides agreeing to submit to arbitration.²³⁰ The strike affected the supply of many goods and services, and it left a deep impression on the public mind because the battle had been fought not at factory gates, but in the streets. Opponents of the Labour Party never tired of telling of the shameful times when no vehicle could move safely in Adelaide unless it had a permit from the Trades Hall. With a battle cry of "Remember the Drivers Strike", the new Liberal Union won the election which the Labour Government had called to support its stand against the Council. The Labour Party lost two seats in Adelaide and its country representation was confined to the two electorates of Wallaroo and Stanley where it could rely on a solid workingclass vote. The four seats held in the other country electorates were all lost. At the 1911 Conference a country delegate had said the Government was blamed for

the strikes and the small farmers were getting frightened.²³¹ His fears were now realised.

This setback might have been expected to re-emphasise the importance of cultivating the local branches in the marginal country seats. However, over the next few years the special privileges of the country branches were steadily reduced. By limiting the representation of other groups, the 1904 constitution had allowed country branches a much larger representation in Conference than their numbers entitled them to. All country local branches, however small, were able to send at least one delegate to the Conference and the nine country electorate committees were each allowed one delegate as well. Local branches in the metropolitan area had no direct representation at all. The three metropolitan electoral committees which they composed were allowed one delegate each. Thus the Party machinery which captured all twelve metropolitan seats in 1906 and 1910 sent only three delegates to the conference. The trade unions were restricted to a maximum of four delegates, which was the representation allowed a union of 300 members or more.²³² This meant that four country branches with perhaps only a handful of members in each sent as many delegates as the A.W.U. Because of this limitation the A.W.U. and the U.L.U. paid affiliation fees for only 300 of their members. They said they would pay more when they were allowed more delegates. The Party had to balance the financial advantage of granting more delegates against the threat that larger union delegations would make country branch representation ineffective.

The 1911 Conference postponed a decision by passing a pious resolution calling on unions to pay for their total membership.²³³

The A.W.U. ignored it.²³⁴ Then in 1913 the first concession was made. At the instigation of the A.W.U. the maximum number of delegates was increased to six for unions with 1,000 members or more. The industrial wing gained a further victory at this Conference with the passage of a new rule requiring all members of affiliated Democratic Associations to pledge themselves to the Labour platform.²³⁵ This was directed against the Single Taxers.

At the 1914 conference the Typographical Society, supported among others by the A.W.U., requested that voting at Conference should be by society and not by delegates, with each society having as many votes as the number of members for whom it paid affiliation fees - a system known as card voting. The motion was strenuously opposed, in particular by the recently appointed country organiser who said it was a great advantage in his work to be able to point out that the large unions could not outvote the country branches. The resolution was lost. However, on the motion of the A.W.U., the maximum number of delegates was further increased to seven.²³⁶

Over the next few years the A.W.U., which now included the U.L.U., sent increasingly larger delegations to Conference. As well as taking advantage of the new constitutional provisions, it arranged for its various country branches to be affiliated separately so they

acquired the right to their own representatives. Larger A.W.U. delegations helped Lundie to strengthen his position within the Party. At the 1915 Conference he successfully moved for the expulsion of J. P. Wilson M.L.C., whose offence was the acceptance of a position on the Railways Standing Committee for which caucus had designated someone else. The Legislative Council, dominated by the Liberal Union, had refused to accept the caucus nominee and had voted instead for Wilson. The accused was an old enemy of the A.W.U. because, as a minister in the first Labour Government, he had not administered the Shearers' Accommodation Act to the Union's satisfaction.²³⁷ At the 1916 Conference Lundie, acting as chairman of the credentials committee, prohibited a number of country delegates from taking their seats. Their credentials merely said "bearer", and the committee held that the actual name of the delegate should appear. The "bearer" system was used by the country branches which could not supply a delegate from their own ranks. They had to rely on an outsider whose name might not be known to them at the time of their last meeting prior to the Conference. The system was clearly open to abuse, but three Labour parliamentarians pleaded that Lundie's requirement would be a severe handicap to country branches. They were overruled.²³⁸ Parliamentarians were frequently given these "bearer" credentials, which would have made the practice more heinous in Lundie's eyes.

Early in 1917 a special Conference was called on the

conscription issue. For this the A.W.U. made a special effort. The Adelaide, Mount Gambier and Port Augusta branches each sent seven delegates and three other branches provided a further seven, to give the A.W.U. twenty-eight delegates, which was one tenth of the total. Lundie was in control. He moved the motion which virtually expelled most of the parliamentarians from the Party. It called on them to abide by the Party's decision against conscription or to leave the room. After speaking their defiance they left. The following day Lundie was elected President of the Party.²³⁹ A few days earlier he had defeated W. G. Spence for the office of national President of the A.W.U.²⁴⁰ The final victory for the A.W.U. came in the following year. At the 1918 Conference the system of card voting was adopted on the motion of an A.W.U. delegate.²⁴¹

Both inside and outside the Party the A.W.U. was attacking the principle of the 1904 settlement that workers and producers could and should co-operate together. Inside, the system of card voting established the supremacy of the unions and consigned country branches to an inferior position. Outside, the union attacked the farmers directly as employers of labour. Even small farmers on occasion might employ labour and many had hopes of becoming large farmers. Thus there was a basic contradiction inherent in the notion that farmers and workers had the same interests. The contradiction could only be suppressed so long as the labour movement was not connected with agricultural labourers. This was still the case

in 1904 when the new constitution was adopted. However, in that year the Federal Labour Party jolted the local propaganda about farmer-worker harmony by attempting to include agricultural labourers within the scope of the Federal Arbitration Act. The attempt failed, but the local Party was embarrassed by it and its opponents held it up as an ill omen.²⁴² In the South Australian legislation on wages boards, agricultural labourers were also specifically excluded. In fact, wages board determinations were limited to the metropolitan area and only by resolution of both Houses could they be extended beyond it.²⁴³ The A.W.U. and the U.L.U., which were interested primarily in rural labourers, were highly critical of these limitations. At the 1909 Conference Lundie spoke boldly of "forcing" the Legislature to pass a compulsory Conciliation and Arbitration Act with jurisdiction over all employees throughout the state,²⁴⁴ but the Legislative Council could be relied on to resist that.²⁴⁵ It regularly refused to allow wages boards to exercise jurisdiction in the country.²⁴⁶ The Labour parliamentarians were probably glad that their power in this matter was limited. They had no wish to antagonise the farmers. At a time of great prosperity, the first Labour Government resumed assisted immigration, suspended in 1885, in order to supply the farmer with labour. The industrial wing was incensed because immigration did not help the farm labourer.²⁴⁷

However, Lundie got what he wanted after the federal elections of 1910 when a Labour majority was returned in both Houses.

The new Arbitration Act extended the jurisdiction of the Court to the agricultural industry. The Rural Workers Union, formed in New South Wales in 1908 with the support of the A.W.U., registered itself with the Court and set about to organise the farm labourers. Progress was slow and in 1912 the Rural Workers Union sought amalgamation with the A.W.U.²⁴⁸ Early in 1913 the merger was completed; the A.W.U. adopted the Rural Workers' log of claims, and planned to enforce them for the 1913-1914 harvest.²⁴⁹ Since the Arbitration Court refused to grant a conference with the farmers, the fight had to be fought on the farm.²⁵⁰ Though the Union was successful in some areas and with some farmers, the attempt to enforce the log failed. In South Australia the best results were achieved in the South East, where the Union was already strong among the shearers; but elsewhere no progress was made.²⁵¹

Nonetheless, the attempt had political consequences, independent of its success or failure. The Liberal Union made much of the impertinence of the Rural Workers' log and its impossible demands,²⁵² and the Labour candidates found it more difficult to appeal to the farmer as a fellow worker. During the 1915 election campaign it came to the notice of the A.W.U. that one country candidate, N. O. Makin, was attempting to solve the difficulties which the log made for him by saying it was a federal matter, of no concern to the State Labour Party. The A.W.U. expressed its views on these tactics in the open columns of the press. It

denounced Makin for "grovelling for the farmers' votes" and told him that the A.W.U. expected him to support the log which was as much a State as a Federal matter. The letter then expanded into a general statement of the A.W.U.'s position:

The truth of the matter is that Mr. Makin and other persons who masquerade under the name of the State Labour Party forget that they are servants, not leaders or masters. The Unions are the masters; the Labour politician is merely a necessary evil to enable the Unions to register their decrees ... when the industrial arm of the labour movement does in reality direct and control ... the political arm many of the present so called Labour M.P.s and Labour leaders will have to either radically alter their tune or get to work. As for the farmer, the A.W.U. members, or the great bulk of them, regard him as an employer, certainly not as a brother - that would be asking too much of human nature ... the A.W.U. members intend to force that log on to the farmers, like it or not. The A.W.U. have no cause to love the "cocky"; in all our strikes, lockouts, and so on, the first to scab has been the "cocky", and, judging by recent events ... the "cocky" has the scabbing habit as virulent as ever.²⁵³

Cockies are scabs: this was the view of the new men. Here was the epitaph to all the bold talk of producers and workers co-operating together.

Whatever views or groups prevailed within the Labour Party, the basic principles of the electoral system remained the same. If the Party was ever to regain the majority it lost in 1917, when most of the parliamentarians were expelled, it would have to win a considerable number of country seats. An organisation in which the Unions had made themselves supreme could confidently appeal to country workingmen, more of whom were now trade unionists themselves.

However, there were few country electorates where workingmen predominated. The Party would have to appeal to the small farmer, no matter what some trade unionists might think of him. Country branches, however small and heterogeneous, would have to be allowed to choose their local candidate, even if they were denied an effective say in the Party's platform and the composition of its Executive. Despite the growth of country trade unions, the bulk of trade unionists were still in Adelaide; yet the political arm of the trade union movement had to countenance a parliamentary party in which the country had to be well represented before it could take office.

The framers of the 1904 constitution had recognised the limitations which the electoral system and the composition of the rural population placed upon a radical party. They planned to bring representation within the Party closer to that within the House of Assembly. They restricted the representation of the unions and metropolitan local branches in favour of country local branches. By 1918 their constitution had been radically amended and its spirit completely lost. But the requirements of the electoral system had not altered. What was formerly recognised openly would in future be only grudgingly conceded.

Between 1910 and 1915 the Liberal Union successfully accommodated the metropolitan and rural interests which had formerly been represented on the one hand by the National League and on the other by the Farmers and Producers and Democratic Unions. At first, however, some members of the old rural associations were suspicious of the Executive of the new party. The Executive was to be appointed by the governing Council but until that body was constituted, it consisted of the delegates from the three uniting organisations who had drawn up the new constitution, and others co-opted by them. The constitution guaranteed local autonomy to the branches, but the presence on the Executive of former leaders of the National League seems to have been enough to rouse suspicions about the policy and practice of the new organisation. The constitution did not oblige members or branches to contribute anything towards the cost of the central establishment. Membership fees were to be wholly retained for local use. However, branches and members were asked to make voluntary subscriptions to the central fund. In January 1911 the Secretary reported that some parts of the country were very reluctant to contribute,²⁵⁴ and the overall response during the first year was very small.²⁵⁵ The secretary of the Wallaroo district committee even refused to act as a local collector for the central fund. He said he wanted federation, not unification, but in effect he was declining to support any central organisation at all.²⁵⁶ During its first year

the Executive relied almost solely on the contributions of a few large subscribers. These paid the salaries of the Secretary, his office staff, and a team of seven organisers whose task was to enrol members and form branches.

The first Conference of the Union must have allayed many fears. Country branches carried amendments to the constitution which swept away the few remaining restrictions on the autonomy of the branches and district committees. The district committees were to determine the method of taking their pre-selection ballots, and not the Council, and the Council's endorsement of the chosen candidate was no longer required. The district secretary of Wallaroo furthered his federation ideal by persuading the Conference to deny the Executive and the Council any power over the admission and expulsion of members. The sole right in these matters was given to the branches, with appeal to the district committees.²⁵⁷ The passage of these amendments indicated that any centralist sympathies which former members of the National League might still hold could exercise no influence. At this and all subsequent Conferences delegates from country branches, which were the most eager for local autonomy, were in a clear majority. There were more members in the country than in Adelaide, and they were distributed through a great many more branches.²⁵⁸ The smallest branch in the country could send two delegates, whilst the largest in the city was allowed no more than four.²⁵⁹ After the first Conference the country

branches were much more willing to contribute to the central funds. In the second year they gave more than three times as much as in the first.²⁶⁰

The Council of the new party was constituted at the time of the first Conference in September 1911. It was to consist of ten delegates from each district committee and was to meet at least twice a year in March and September. One of its chief functions was to elect the Executive. At its first meeting, the Council decided that the Executive should be composed of five members from each district committee.²⁶¹ This became a settled practice, so thereafter each district committee annually nominated its Council members and designated half of them to be those chosen to sit on the Executive as well. The election at the Council meeting became a formality. The one vital function which the Council continued to perform was the selection of candidates for Senate elections. At its second meeting in March 1912 it began to consider how it would choose candidates for the 1913 election. There were 73 members present at this meeting out of a total of 120. Only 30 could have been Adelaide representatives, yet some country delegates were afraid that at some future meeting when the final choice was made Adelaide would be able to outvote the country. The Council decided that a special meeting should be called to make the decision and that members unable to attend could vote by post. An amendment for a plebiscite of the whole membership was lost.²⁶² At the special meeting in June there were 92 members present, an even better

attendance. Plainly the Liberal Union Council was more representative than its namesake of the National League, the great majority of whose members had never appeared at a meeting. Even so, the Council was reluctant to take a decision and decided after all to hold a plebiscite of the whole membership.²⁶³ In this it was following the precedent set by the Farmers and Producers which had regularly referred matters to members and branches. The Senate plebiscite was a very good advertisement for the Union. It demonstrated not only the willingness of a central body, however representative, to defer to the mass membership, but also the numerical strength of the new party. Over 30,000 ballot papers were sent out, and 20,000 were returned.²⁶⁴ At this time the Labour Party was a much smaller organisation with a membership, in both unions and branches, of no more than 20,000.²⁶⁵ Ever since the formation of the Labour Party its opponents had envied its organisation. Now the Labour Party began to ascribe its defeats to the superior organisation of the Liberals.²⁶⁶

The Executive of the Liberal Union, like the Council which appointed it, had far more country than city members since there were nine country and only three city district committees, and each committee provided five members. The chief functions of the Executive are indicated by the titles of its two most important sub-committees - "organising" and "finance". The organising committee appointed and directed the organisers and

canvassers; the finance committee collected money from individuals and the branches and supervised its expenditure. Country representation on both these sub-committees was also strong. However, since meetings of the Executive and its sub-committees were held monthly, it was difficult for country members to attend regularly. More country members were present than at the old National League meetings, but the constant attenders still tended to be Adelaide men. Some of these had been leaders in the National League. The tendency was most marked in the finance committee. The first finance committee, appointed from the delegates who had arranged the fusion, had a disproportionately large share of former National League leaders.²⁶⁷ They were chosen, presumably, so that the contacts with the large subscribers to the National League could be maintained. In subsequent years this predominance was less marked, but two or three National League men remained very active on the committee. They were appointed to collect money from the pastoralists and merchants just as they had done before 1910.²⁶⁸ In March 1912 the finance sub-committee appointed its own sub-committee of two who were to meet weekly to authorise all expenditure. Both its members of necessity were Adelaide men. One was a merchant and the other a stock and station agent. The latter had served as president of the National League.²⁶⁹

The Executive and its committees were the only bodies in the Union where country votes did not clearly predominate.

Nonetheless, there was a willingness to defer to country feeling which had not been shown by the Executive of the National League. When important decisions were being taken special efforts were made to gather opinion from the various district committees and the General Secretary was in close contact with the district committee secretaries.²⁷⁰ From 1911, meetings of the Executive and its subcommittees were held on the same day to encourage country members to attend.²⁷¹ In any case, the power of the Executive to harm or offend country branches was very slight. The branches controlled the platform and the constitution through the Conferences, and the selection of candidates through the district committees and the Council. Policy and candidates, which had been among the chief concerns of the National League Executive, were rarely even mentioned at the Executive meetings of the Liberal Union. The passage of a constitutional amendment at the 1913 Conference indicated that the early suspicions of the Executive had disappeared. At the suggestion of the finance committee, the Conference agreed to make branches liable for the payment of 2/- per male member per annum to the central fund.²⁷² This replaced the purely voluntary system of contributions which was all the framers of the constitution had dared to ask for.

With their independence guaranteed, the country branches could hardly fail to benefit from the activities of the Executive. The team of organisers maintained by the Executive helped to form

branches, enrolled members, and collected membership fees, which were then retained by the branch for its own use. Central organisers and canvassers worked before elections for the return of candidates chosen by district committees. Apart from paying all general advertising expenses the central fund also helped to meet the cost of local campaigns.²⁷³ Branches and their individual members contributed to the central fund, but they received back much more than they gave. The following table shows the sources of the Union's income.

TABLE 10
Sources of the Liberal Union's Income, 1910-1915

Year	Metropolitan			Country		
	Donors	Branches	Total	Donors	Branches	Total
1910-1911a	£6,850	£ -	£6,850	£270	£ 210	£ 480
1911-1912	6,050	220	6,270	450	1,100	1,550
1912-1913	5,800	250	6,050	410	1,280	1,690
1913-1914	2,800	260	3,060	230	1,170	1,400
1914-1915b	5,750	100	5,850	8	500	508c
1910-1915	27,250	830	28,080	1,368	4,260	5,628
% of total income	81%	2%	83%	4%	13%	17%

a 9 months b 11 months c drought year

Source: Liberal Union, Finance Committee, Minutes, 28 May 1915.

The amounts contributed by individual donors in the country would have been collected by the party's organisers. The large metropolitan

donors were approached by members of the finance committee themselves. They were always asked for a special contribution prior to an election. In every year other than 1913-1914, when they contributed much less, there was either a State or Federal general election or a constitutional referendum. Even without an election, the Party still had to call on them because contributions from the branches were nowhere near sufficient to meet the recurrent expenditure on the central office and the organisers.²⁷⁴ The branches, then, continuously enjoyed better services than they paid for, in addition to receiving special grants for electioneering.

At first the finance committee was very liberal in its distribution of electioneering funds, to the annoyance of the General Secretary. From December 1912 he was urging the committee to exercise firmer control. He did not approve of district committees being allowed to incur liabilities without first seeking the approval of the finance committee, and he deplored the wastage of supporting candidates who were run "for sentimental reasons" in Labour strongholds. He wanted to save money and increase his own control over the conduct of election campaigns. Gradually the committee made some changes, though it was never as strict as the Secretary would have wished. Before the State election of 1915 it decided not to support candidates in Labour strongholds; it drew up a plan allocating the amount it considered necessary to contest other seats, and declared that it would not pay bills

unless the expenditure had been endorsed.²⁷⁵ These regulations certainly imposed a stronger central control over the spending of the party's funds, but they could scarcely be described as an interference with the principle of local autonomy.

Former members of the Farmers and Producers and the Democratic Unions, who now belonged to country branches of the Liberal Union, had much to congratulate themselves upon. They had helped to create a single, and hence more effective, opposition to the Labour Party; in the conduct of their local affairs and in the choice of their parliamentary candidates they enjoyed as much freedom as hitherto; and through the agency of the central Executive their local efforts were supported by the contributions of the Adelaide merchants and pastoralists. Adelaide wealth, which formerly had an association of its own, had been tamed in the service of the country.

By 1915 some of the large city subscribers were finding this submission hard to bear. At the general election in March the Labour Party ousted the first Liberal Union Government and again, as in 1906 and 1910, it held all the metropolitan Assembly seats. In its annual report to the Council in September the Executive referred to the restlessness of its large financial supporters: "the metropolitan area will of necessity grow tired of always supplying the sinews of war unless they (sic) are offered representation".²⁷⁶

In the following year the large subscribers asked for direct representation both on the finance committee and in parliament. Some refused to make any further contribution until their demands were met.²⁷⁷ The Liberal Union Government had attempted to make it easier for Adelaide men to enter the Assembly when it rearranged the electoral districts in 1913. It broke up the three large metropolitan electorates, in which liberal votes tended to be swamped, and created six smaller electorates, two of which it hoped could be won by the Liberal Union. At its first trial in 1915 the scheme failed completely. Since no metropolitan seat could be considered safe, the city subscribers were in effect seeking the right to nominate members for safe country seats.

At first the President of the Liberal Union assured the subscribers that the conference would willingly agree to change the constitution to allow them representation on the finance committee and the Executive. He urged them to renew their subscriptions.²⁷⁸ If this promise was not disingenuous, it was extremely naïve. A few months later the finance committee asked the President rather archly what methods he proposed to use to get city subscribers onto the finance committee. Nothing further was heard about the matter. When the finance committee met the city subscribers in July 1916 its chairman pointed out how difficult it would be to arrange for commercial men to be represented in parliament since the selection of candidates was the province of

the various district committees.²⁷⁹ Nevertheless the Executive reported to the Council in September that it wanted to find a way to meet the subscribers' request.²⁸⁰ But again no further action was taken. In December the recalcitrant subscribers were still refusing to pay, yet in the following February "after further talks" they relented.²⁸¹ The minutes do not indicate whether any concessions, short of their stated demands, were made to them. While the negotiations with the city subscribers were proceeding, the finance committee was making special appeals to individuals, and the results of this may have helped to reduce the pressure of the embargo. The committee reverted to this tactic in 1919 when city subscribers renewed their demand for representation on the Executive.²⁸²

Disputes, suspension and then renewal of payment, continued to mark the relationship between the city subscribers and the Liberal Union. In 1917 the subscribers renamed themselves the National Union and became associated with similar bodies operating under this name in the other states.²⁸³ It finally disbanded in 1923 after the Liberal Union and the Nationalists combined to form the Liberal Federation.²⁸⁴ Undoubtedly the National Union must have been able to exercise some influence over the Executive,²⁸⁵ yet it was hampered because it was not dealing with a powerful central body. The Executive could scarcely have resisted the subscribers' demand for parliamentary representation if it had

had a say in the nomination of candidates. But whatever the Executive's own response to the National Union's demands - on the whole it seems to have done its best to resist them - it could not speak for the large and active membership jealous of its local rights. The settlement of 1910 had created a strong federal party which could not be readily subverted from the centre.

In 1915, the year when the city subscribers first became restless, two members of the Liberal Union formed a Farmers and Settlers Association.²⁸⁶ The move was prompted chiefly by the desire to exercise some control over the Commonwealth Government's scheme for the compulsory acquisition of wheat during the war. The leaders of the movement did not intend that it should become another political party; they wanted rather to establish a broadly based farming pressure group. However in 1917, against their wishes, the rank and file committed the Association to forming a political party. Its platform called for greater Government spending in rural areas and for grower representation on the Wheat Board; and it favoured the continuation of a compulsory wheat pooling scheme after the war. The Liberal Union, on the other hand, was committed to the open market. The Country Party did not manage to establish itself firmly. In the House of Assembly it never held more than four seats in a House of forty-six. Its only constant areas of support were the new wheatlands in the Murray

Mallee and on Eyre Peninsula, and the marginal country in the north. At the general elections of 1921 and 1927 the Country Party and the Liberals entered into an electoral pact to reduce or avoid vote splitting which could lead to the election of a Labour candidate. On both these occasions the Country Party returned four representatives to the Assembly. Without any electoral arrangement in 1924 and 1930, the Country Party managed to return only two members.²⁸⁷ It was after this last election that the Party agreed to amalgamate with the Liberal Federation. The new organisation was known as the Liberal and Country League.

The historian of the South Australian Country Party concludes that the chief obstacle to the Party's success was the strength of the Liberal Union and its successor, the Liberal Federation.²⁸⁸ Dr. Graham in his study of the Australian Country Parties also acknowledges this, but he does not understand how early the Liberal strength was established. He notes how the electoral success of the Country Party in the other states and the Commonwealth in 1919 and 1920 depended to a large extent on the instability of the existing party structure; which meant that neither of the two major parties was able to offer effective opposition to the new. The failure in South Australia, according to Graham, is explained by the party attempting to establish itself later in the twenties when the older parties "had learnt

their lesson". The Country Party could be contained or squeezed out of existence.²⁸⁹ This is to misjudge the situation. The "lesson" had been learnt by the National League in 1910. After the formation of the Liberal Union there was no specifically rural political association in existence at all. The Farmers and Producers Political Union, which had sent delegates to the first Commonwealth conference of Farmers Associations in 1906, and the Liberal and Democratic Union, which had questioned their right to speak for all South Australian farmers, had both disbanded.²⁹⁰ In 1917 the Country Party had to begin again from scratch. Meanwhile the Liberal Union had had the opportunity to demonstrate that town and country could be joined together effectively without prejudicing the independence of the country. By 1915 and 1916 the settlement was no longer satisfying everyone in the country, but, as the leaders of the new Farmers and Settlers Association realised, it satisfied enough to make it very difficult, if not impossible, to establish another party. Areas which had supported, and indeed founded, the Farmers and Producers Union showed little or no interest in the Country Party. It was the makers of the 1910 constitution who inhibited the development of a country party and ensured that its challenge could be readily met when it did emerge.

In the years after 1915 the Liberal organisation was able to withstand at least the major demands of its chief financial

supporters; it contained and eventually absorbed the Country Party; and generally it has proved more stable than its counterparts in other states. Twice since 1910 it has been reorganised to take in first the Nationalists in 1923 and then the Country Party in 1932, but it has led a continuous existence without the crises and collapse of non-labour organisations elsewhere. The foundations of this success were laid quickly and surely in the years immediately after 1910, with the attraction of a large membership and the creation of a smoothly operating federal organisation. This achievement highlights the importance of the decisions taken in 1910 when the two distinctly rural political organisations disbanded and the National League modified its programme considerably and accepted a constitution in which central power was limited. These decisions can perhaps be explained merely in terms of the immediate political situation. The Labour Party had formed its first government and it held all the metropolitan Assembly seats. In these circumstances metropolitan capitalists and landowners had to make common cause with those countrymen opposed to Labour, and accept the conditions which they imposed. The rural organisations were happy to disband because they too wanted a single and more effective opposition to the Labour Party and they were offered union with the city party on good terms. But there can be many obstacles in the way of such a delicate operation as the combination of three political parties, even when the advantages of union are

obvious to all. The comparative weakness of anti-urban feeling may help to explain why rural organisations in South Australia were willing to disband whilst their counterparts in the other states maintained their separate organisations which later became the bases of the Country Parties.²⁹¹ On the other side, the actions of the National League have to be considered in a special light because of the presence within its ranks of members of the old gentry families.²⁹² Richard Baker, its founder, was one of these and the League was maintained and supported by others - Duncan, Browne, Bakewell, Hawker, Riddoch and Davenport. Duncan was the chief negotiator with the Farmers and Producers during the 1909 fusion discussions and Bakewell chaired the committee of delegates from the three parties which drew up the Liberal Union constitution. The presence of these men may have imparted to the National League a special determination to maintain for the wealthy a position within society and in the end have given it the wisdom to see how this could be best achieved. These men ensured that in a different political world from that which they had known their sons could still find a place. Members of the old families continued to hold prominent positions in the Liberal Union, the Liberal Federation, and the Liberal and Country League.²⁹³

Before the leaders of the National League had made any substantial concessions in policy or organisation, the Labour Party Council adopted a new platform and constitution in order to win

support from the country. Yet the Labour Party constitution of 1904 did not enjoy the respect accorded to its Liberal counterpart of 1910. It was made when politicians were still influential in the party and when trade unions were still moderate in their politics. After 1904 there was a rapid expansion in the number and membership of the trade unions. The growing sympathy for socialism, the strengthening of the A.W.U. and the emergence of the U.L.U. all led to a dissatisfaction with the parliamentary party and the concessions made to the country. The constitutional provisions which favoured the country were constantly attacked, gradually whittled away, and finally overthrown in 1917 and 1918.

The year 1917 also marks the end of the Labour Party's electoral success. Since then it has won only three general elections, in 1924, 1930, and 1965. The explanation for this failure, and indeed for its early success, must await detailed studies which would have to examine the structure and distribution of the population and the arrangement of electorates, a matter which has always been in the hands of Labour's opponents. Such studies might also tell us whether it is merely coincidence that Labour has never performed so well since the industrial wing seized power in 1917 and disowned the settlement of 1904. For the moment we must be content to state what happened: from 1893 until 1917 a radical alliance between city and country generally provided the government of South Australia; after 1917 the government has

usually been formed by a party sponsored by Adelaide's wealth and supported by substantial farmers and businessmen in the country. The settlement of 1910, denounced by the Labour Party as a front and a fraud, was a stronger bond than its critics imagined.

PART III

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

The first part of this thesis attempted a description of the social relationship between Adelaide and the country, but it did not have to be concerned with charting changes in it. The essential features of that relationship were constant. The commercial and financial dominance of the capital was never challenged. Throughout the period Adelaide's population was growing more rapidly than the country's and from as early as the 1880s the city was absorbing part of the country's population. Adelaide always held special attractions for some groups of country people because of the comforts, services and style of life it offered. Adelaide was in 1870, as in 1914, a centre which country people visited regularly. The chief changes in the relationship between Adelaide and the country occurred in politics.

The second part of this work has followed two great political changes. The first was in the composition of the parliament. In the 1870s Adelaide men predominated in both Houses. At the height of Adelaide's control over the country in 1878 no less than 76% of the members of the House of Assembly were Adelaide residents. By the end of the period the positions of Adelaide and the country had been reversed. The country electorates rarely returned anyone who was not a country resident and since the distribution of electorates favoured the country, country residents predominated in the

parliament. The second change was no less remarkable than the first. In the seventies no member of parliament was connected with any sort of extra-parliamentary organisation. In the House of Assembly elected in 1912 and 1915 every member owed allegiance to one or other of two political parties. Both parties had their headquarters in Adelaide. The chief strength of one party was its majority following among Adelaide's people and not least among the advantages of the other was its access to Adelaide's wealth. Every country member was an ally either of Adelaide's people or its wealth. The country which was formerly linked with Adelaide in the personnel of its representatives was now connected to the city through the machinery of the parties. The period had seen both the decline of the Adelaide absentee member and the rise of the Adelaide based party. In what ways were these two developments connected?

The decline of the Adelaide absentees was a slow process. It began in the early eighties with the onset of poor seasons and economic depression. At this time credit selection agreements became burdensome and the cutback in government spending and the imposition of direct taxation made country people more critical of governments and parliaments. Instead of relying on parliamentary "friends" to voice their dissatisfaction, the farmers for the first time produced their own political organisation. The proportion of country residents elected to the Assembly began to rise after its long

decline during the seventies and the demands for payment of members became vociferous. Once payment of members was conceded there was no impediment to the election of local residents. At each general election the proportion of country residents elected was higher than at the last. By the turn of the century the change to country representation was virtually complete and thereafter the absentee member was a rarity.

While this change was in process, the whole nature of politics altered because of the emergence in Adelaide of political organisations with sharply divergent interests and programmes. On one side were the Labour Party and its fractious partners, the single-taxers, and on the other the National Defence League. The contest between these city groups was soon extended into the country. The Single Tax League, the Labour Party and the National League each sent their emissaries out to gather support in the country. These travelling lecturers and agents were asking much more of country people than the parliamentary candidates from Adelaide who had ventured into the country in the seventies and eighties. The Adelaide absentee had presented himself as an unfettered individual; he gave his opinions on the questions of the day and promised to do his best for the district and the colony. The lecturers and missionaries of the nineties were not seeking support for themselves, but for an organisation, for its principles and its programmes. Over these city organisations and their philosophies country people had little or no

control. Instead of supporting a man, they were asked to support a cause, and hence to become parties to a conflict that had broken out in Adelaide. In expecting that country people would rally to support their policies the city organisations displayed an amazing arrogance or a remarkable naivety. The National League attacked payment of members and the free education system; the single taxers wanted to shift all taxation on to the land; and the Labour Party told the small farmer that he would be better off if he paid a higher land tax, and it announced to the country population generally that it would drastically reduce the number of parliamentary seats allotted to them. While the city organisations maintained this attitude to the country they made little progress. Their activities reinforced in country people the desire to control their own political destinies. Adelaide under parties seemed much more menacing than the Adelaide of the independent member.

In an interesting article entitled "The Smallholder's Place in the Australian Tradition" Douglas Pike argues that the farmers played an important middle role between capital and labour by insisting on their political independence and remaining outside the parties: "To the smallholder, political parties and trade unions were mere agents of privilege that sought authority in different forms alike offensive to his creed of a 'fair field for all and no favours'."¹ As far as South Australia is concerned Pike is correct in emphasising the farmers' desire for independence, but completely

misleading in suggesting that they maintained their independence by staying outside the parties. If their independence were guaranteed within the parties, they were prepared to join them. In 1904 the Labour Party changed its platform to take account of country interests and aspirations and altered its constitution to allow more power to country branches and it quickly established a wide spread of country branches. By 1910 it had attracted sufficient country support to govern in its own right. In 1910 the National League disbanded in favour of a new party, the Liberal Union, which was more liberal in its programme and which was controlled by a federal rather than a unitary constitution. The new organisation attracted and held the support of those who had formerly belonged to separate and specifically rural organisations and its success inhibited the development of a Country Party in South Australia. Country people declined to be used as mere passive supporters of Adelaide organisations, but they agreed to co-operate once they were granted the status of semi-independent allies.

With the establishment of the Liberal Union in 1910 representatives of Adelaide's business and landholding community had again found a secure place in the political world. However, the two great political changes of the period involved for them a considerable diminution of power. In the seventies they had direct access to the positions of power. Men moved easily from warehouse, banking chamber and mansion to a seat in the House and a chair in the cabinet

room. A large number of parliamentary positions was available to them because country constituencies as well as those in the city were prepared to elect them. At this time there was little conflict in interest between their community and the rural electorate. Since the farmers faced no local competition in selling their produce they were freetraders along with the merchants in Adelaide who exported their wheat and imported their supplies and stores. Adelaide's commercial supremacy was so assured that generally it had no need to insist that the state-owned railways focus on the capital. Many outports were given railways by a predominantly metropolitan parliament, and the lines which did join all the railways to Adelaide were sought more eagerly in the country than in the city. Over the question of land reform in the early seventies considerable tension had arisen, but this disappeared once farmers had been given first choice of crown lands and government credit to pay for them. They were then not concerned to press their original demand that land be made cheap.

From the eighties the political position of Adelaide's business and land owning community was threatened on two fronts. The first attack, rather slow moving but relentless, came from the country districts which steadily increased the proportion of country residents in the House of Assembly and insisted that payment of members be conceded. The second attack began later but moved much more swiftly. In 1884 the Adelaide trade unions formed a Trades

and Labour Council, one of whose express purposes was to increase the political power of the unions. At the next general elections in 1887 and 1890 that purpose was amply fulfilled, and after the 1893 elections eight of the fourteen metropolitan seats were held by members of the newly formed Labour Party. To counter the threat of the Labour Party and the single taxers, Adelaide capitalists and landholders formed the National League in 1891. Its efforts in the metropolis were largely wasted. In the nineties the Labour Party and its radical liberal allies regularly held nearly all the metropolitan seats. The hopes of the National League were raised in 1902 when Labour suffered a setback, but they were completely dashed at the next election when despite a supreme effort by the League's leaders the Labour Party obtained eleven of the twelve metropolitan seats. The twelfth seat went to the Labour Party in 1906 at the election fought on the Legislative Council Reform Bill.

The city was lost to the conservative cause and it seemed finally that it would elect no one who was not a member of the Labour Party. The country was highly suspicious of any candidate who was not a country resident. The only recourse for the men who composed the National League was to attempt to strengthen their organisation in the country so that those who were elected would be least likely to oppose their views or threaten their interests. However, the interests of Adelaide's business and landholding community were no longer the same as those of the bulk of the rural

electorate. The lands which the farmers now wanted were not crown lands, but the large pastoral freeholds which the National League was specifically designed to protect, and the introduction of direct taxation had given low and average income earners an interest in seeing that the rich were taxed more heavily than themselves. After the Labour Party emerged as a powerful force in both state and federal politics in the early twentieth century, many more country people came to share the National League's fears, but instead of joining the League they formed their own organisation, the Farmers and Producers Political Union, which allowed its members a large degree of local independence. The tight central control within the National League had always been a factor militating against its success. The Farmers and Producers grew quickly and threatened to replace the National League altogether.

Even before 1910 it was clear that Adelaide's business and landholding community could not maintain an effective political organisation of its own. By joining in the formation of the Liberal Union the leaders of the National League guaranteed themselves a political future, but their role was to be very different from that of their forbears in the seventies who had been parliamentarians and cabinet ministers. Within the Liberal Union Adelaide's wealthy would have the opportunity to influence the party's policy and those who administered it, but little chance of finding a parliamentary seat or even of influencing the choice of those who received the party's

endorsement where its chief strength lay in the country. The prospect of being permanently denied access to the parliament was at first a difficult one to face. In 1913 the first Liberal Union Government rearranged the metropolitan electoral districts in the hope that at least one safe city seat could be created for the party. The Premier in announcing this proposal pointed to the anomaly of the chief city of the state being unable to elect a single commercial man to the Assembly.² However, at the next election the Labour Party again won all the metropolitan seats. When the metropolitan financial supporters of the Liberal Union became restless in 1915 one of their demands was for parliamentary representation. It was a request that the Liberal Union was not in a position to grant.

Within the other of the two parties metropolitan organisations and groups were predominant. The Adelaide trade unionists remained the largest single element in the Labour Party and they and the metropolitan electoral committees regularly sent a large block of Labour members into the Assembly. Yet for the Labour Party to govern, considerable country support had to be attracted. The city workingmen had some groups of natural allies in the country. The unions in the large country towns became affiliated with the party after 1904 and the growth of the A.W.U. and the U.L.U. brought the support of shearers and labourers. However, these were not sufficient and small farmers and country tradesmen had to be wooed as well.

The 1904 constitution had provided for them by allowing generous representation at the Conference to country branches and by limiting the representation of the unions. By the end of the period, however, large sections of the trade union movement were impatient of these restraints and they abolished the special privileges of the country branches, despite protests from within the party that this would make it harder to secure country support. Without that support the Party which represented the great bulk of the city's population was unable to govern.

In considering the social relationship between Adelaide and the country it seems difficult to over-emphasise the importance of Adelaide in South Australia's life. However, the first of the great political changes of the period represented a distinct humbling of the metropolis. In political affairs, as in others, South Australia appeared as something akin to a city state in the 1870s. Some men travelled to the parliament from the country, but Adelaide men predominated in both Houses and even more markedly in governments. The colony was governed by the city. At a time when Adelaide contained one third of the colony's population, two thirds or more of the House of Assembly were Adelaide men. However, by 1914, when Adelaide contained one half of the State's population, it supplied only 30% of the membership of the Assembly. This decline in the power and prestige of the metropolis was only partially offset by the fact that all the parliamentarians owed allegiance to one or other of the

Adelaide based parties. Of the two parties the Labour Party exercised the stricter control over its parliamentarians; the control of the party itself was increasingly in the hands of the unions, the majority of whose members were in the metropolitan area; and the bulk of the Party's parliamentary seats were held in Adelaide. In the Liberal Union, however, the power of metropolitan groups was severely limited and nearly all its parliamentary seats were held in the country. It was not the Labour Party, but the Liberal Union and its successors which more usually governed South Australia after the emergence of the two party system.

Had the electoral system been based on the principle of one vote one value country men would not have predominated in the parliament. At the beginning of the period Adelaide's proportion of the Assembly's seats was only a little less than its proportion of the electors. The inequality in its representation first appeared when electoral districts were redrawn in 1882. Though Adelaide's proportion of the electors had increased considerably during the preceding decade, the redistribution was prompted by changes in the country. The size of the House was increased to create extra seats for the new agricultural areas and hence Adelaide's proportion of the Assembly's membership was actually reduced. However, at that stage Adelaide was more than amply represented because of the number of city men holding country seats. After the mid-eighties the rapid movement of farmers into new areas ceased and with it the need to

make changes in the country electorates. As Adelaide continued to grow more rapidly than the country, the most glaring anomaly in the electoral system was the ever widening gap between its proportion of the electors and of the parliamentary membership, both in the Assembly and the Council. This anomaly went unremarked until the emergence of the Labour Party which adopted a policy of redistribution of seats on the basis of population. Country people had good cause to be highly indignant at this policy. It was advocated by an organisation in which country people took no part, which supported the principles of Henry George's land tax, and which was running Adelaide candidates for country seats. In 1901 the Jenkins Government gave half hearted support to the Labour policy when it was reducing the number of parliamentarians, but country backbenchers took the business out of the Government's hands and left the distribution of seats basically unaltered. In 1904 the Labour Party dropped all reference to a redistribution of seats in order to woo the country vote and Adelaide's under-representation ceased to be an issue.³

The people controlling the state at the end of the period were very different from those who held office in the seventies, but the most distinctive feature of the administrative structure itself remained unchanged. The central government, and not local government, continued to control education, police, and poor relief

and to be chiefly responsible for public health. Adelaide's pre-eminent position in the social and economic life of South Australia was matched by the dominant role of central government in the state.

Contrary to a commonly accepted view, the dominance of central government did not result from any incapacity in country people to establish and maintain local institutions. From 1852 to 1870 district councils functioned effectively in most of the settled districts of South Australia and in 1887 local government was successfully established in those newer areas which had not formed councils on their own initiative. The machinery for local control of such matters as education and police was available, but governments and parliaments chose not to use it. There were two main reasons for this. A tradition of central government control had been established in the earliest days of settlement and for many years thereafter the central government could acquire funds so readily that it had no need to pass responsibilities to local bodies. The central government obtained nearly all its revenue from customs duties and by selling and leasing crown lands. The first source was an indirect tax and the second not a tax at all. By contrast the chief source of revenue open to district councils was a direct rate upon land. By keeping the price of land high and by imposing import duties, parliament made local rating for the various public services unnecessary and hence reduced local government to a minor role. This

course served the interests of landed wealth very well and the population generally was content to allow the central government a pre-eminent role since it acquired a variety of services without seeming to pay for them.

South Australians had erected a very distinctive form of government, but they themselves were not conscious of its novelty. When some parliamentarians suggested that centralisation was unnecessary, or tyrannical or contrary to British practice, they were scarcely understood, let alone heeded. Since Adelaide occupied such a dominant position in the economic and social life of the colony there seemed nothing incongruous in a central administration being directly responsible for such matters as education and public health. What need was there to question a system which worked so smoothly? The trains and steamships which took teachers, policemen, and a variety of government inspectors into the country brought country people to the centre of administration. While they were in town to see the Show, countrymen could wait on the various Ministers to ensure that they and their officers were acquainted with local needs and requirements. The telegraph, by which the Adelaide wheat merchants could give daily or even hourly instructions to their agents and managers in the country, also enabled the central administration to maintain close contact with all parts of the colony. We have seen how police troopers in the most distant outback telegraphed the Destitute Board in Adelaide seeking permission to move sick bushmen

to hospital at public expense. In his discussion of the growth of the powers of central government Hancock suggests that distance was a special problem in Australia⁴ and A. G. Austin prefaces his account of the development of the centralised education system with a description of settlers in "remote, scrubby gullies" and "the inaccessible corners of each colony".⁵ Yet in South Australia, at least, administrative and social history alike suggest that the terms "distance" and "remoteness" are as misleading as "sparsity of settlement" and that all three should be discarded in favour of a new term: "closeness".



450

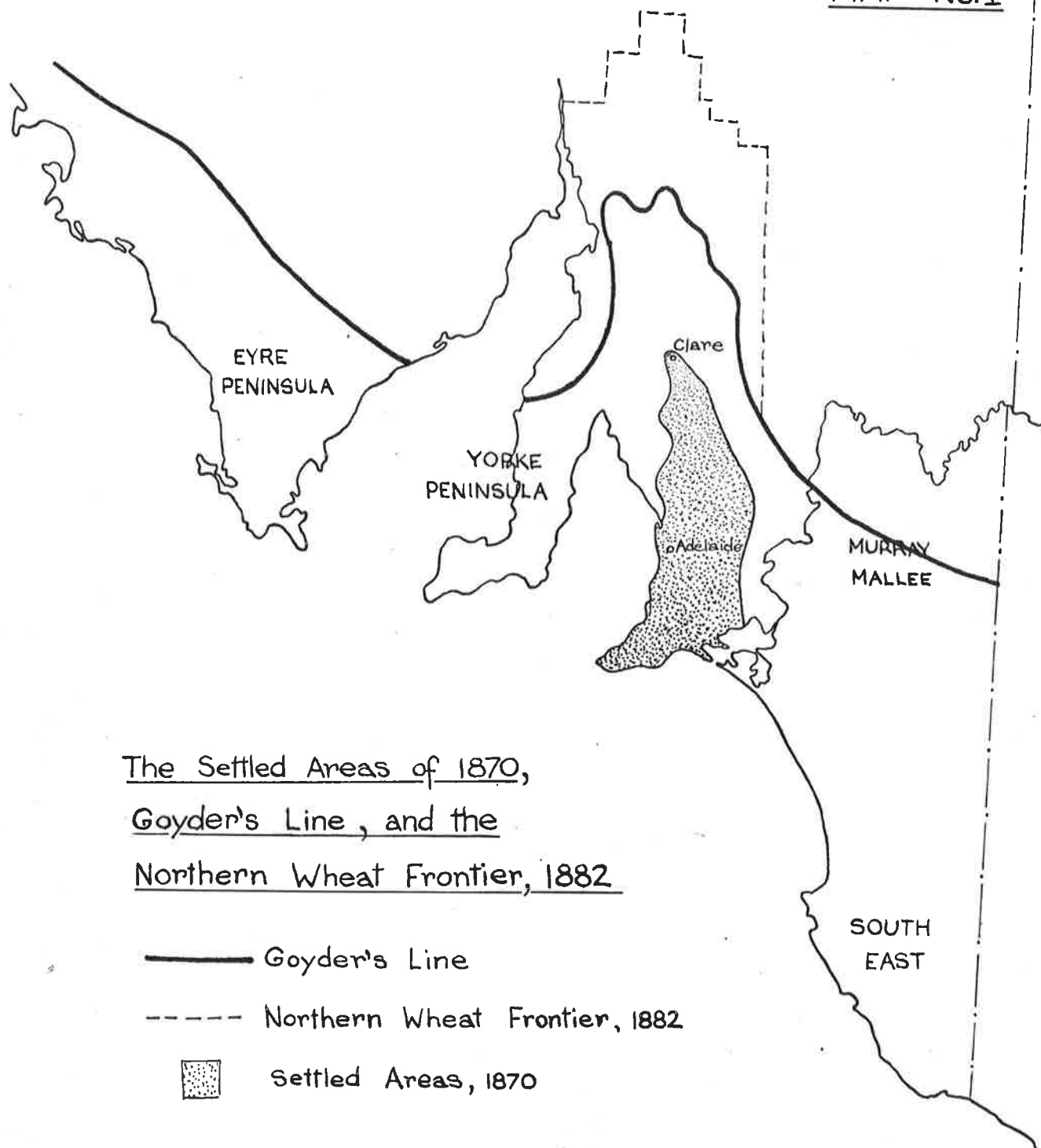
MAPS

I	The Settled Areas of 1870, Goyder's Line, and the Northern Wheat Frontier, 1882	451
II	Railways, 1879	452
III	Railways, 1888, Showing the Major Connecting Links	453
IV	Towns with a Population of 1,000 or More, 1871-1911	454

APPENDICES

I	The Population of Metropolitan Adelaide	455
II	The Population of Country Towns	463
III	Distribution within South Australia in 1881 of People not born in the Colony	471
IV	Occupations of the People in Adelaide, the Country, and South Australia, 1876-1911	472
V	Conjugal Condition of Males and Females in Adelaide and the Country, 1881-1911	478
VI	Change in the Proportion of each age group resident in Adelaide for intercensal periods	479
VII	The Australian Capital Cities: The Proportion of the Metropolitan Population to that of the Colony or State	484
VIII	Wool Exports, 1870-1884	485
IX	Port Victor's Share of the Murray Wool Trade, 1868-1902	486
X	The Chief Sources of Government Revenue, 1870-1914	487

MAP No. I



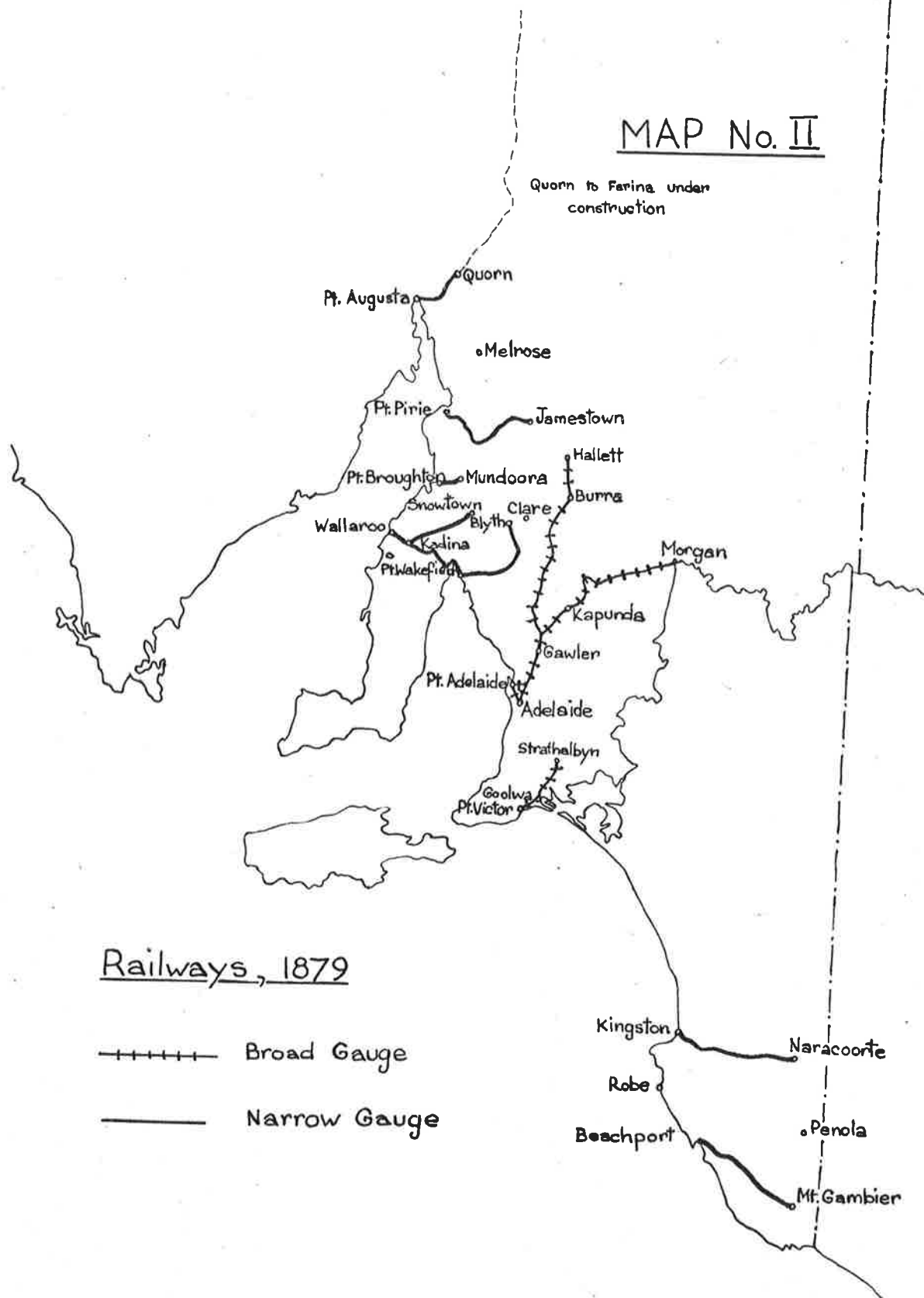
The Settled Areas of 1870,
Goyder's Line, and the
Northern Wheat Frontier, 1882

- Goyder's Line
 - - - - Northern Wheat Frontier, 1882
 ■ Settled Areas, 1870

— SCALE —
 MILES 0 40 80 100 MILES

MAP No. II

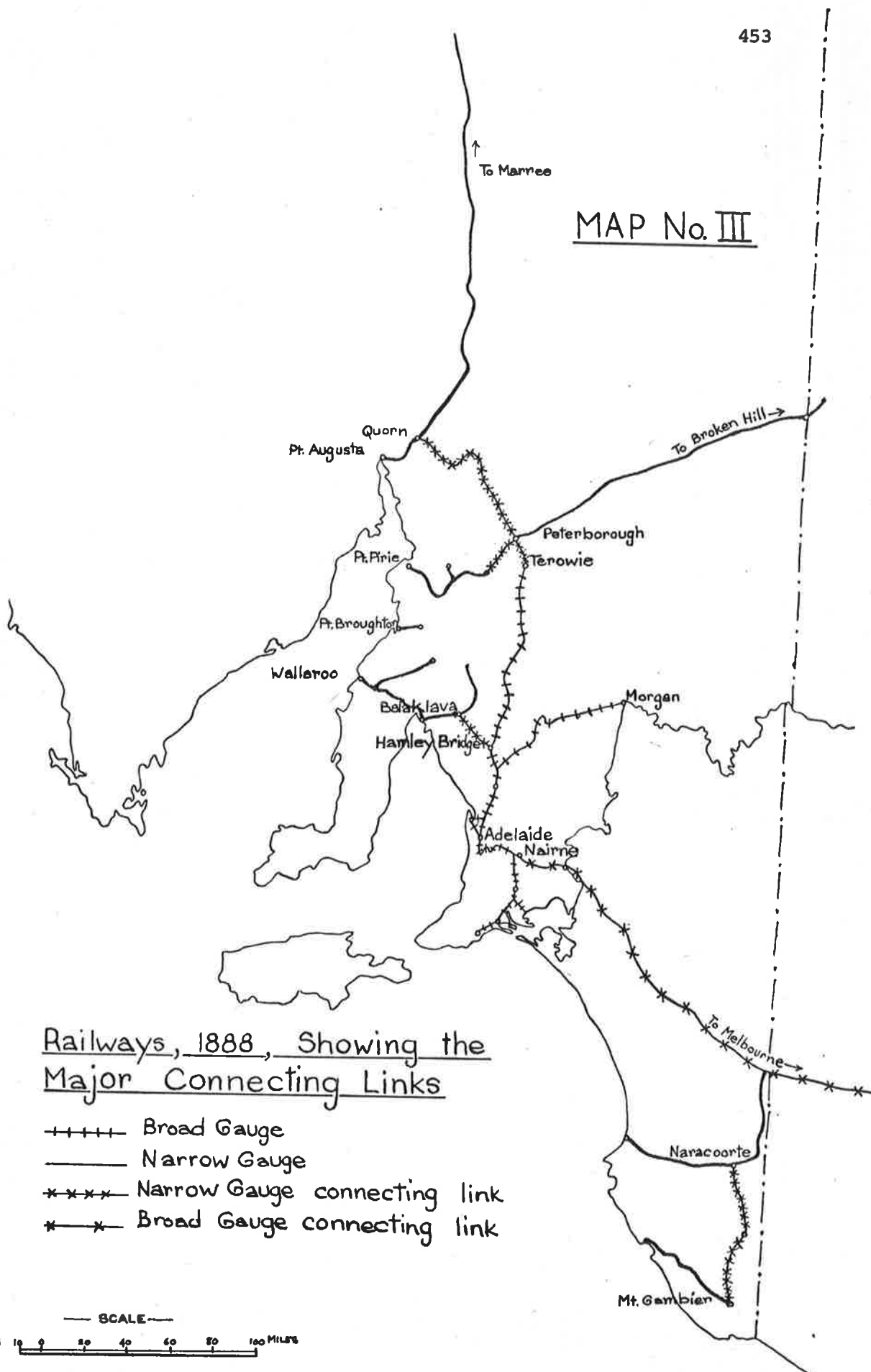
Quorn to Farina under construction



Railways, 1879

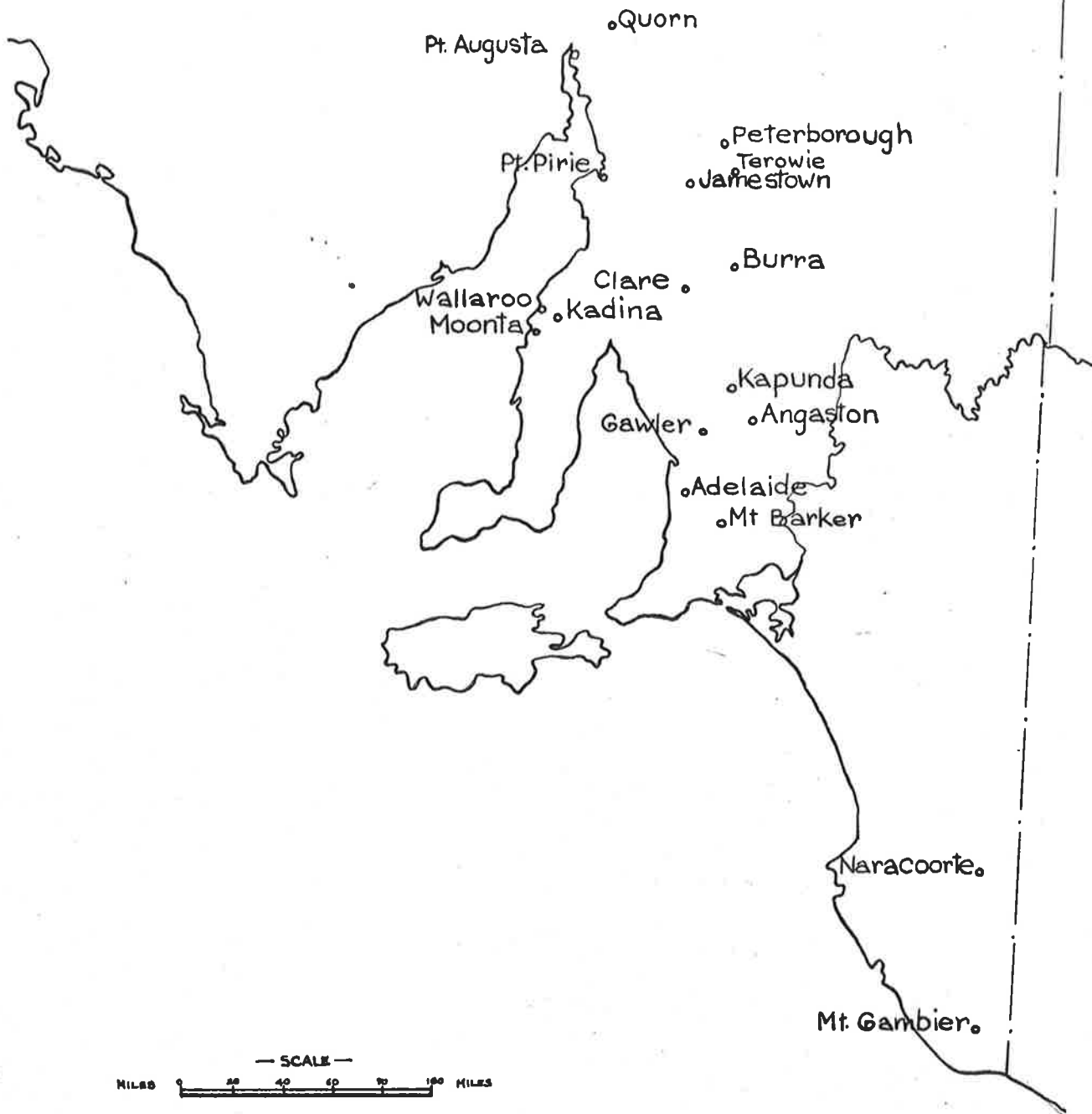
- + + + + + Broad Gauge
 ————— Narrow Gauge

— SCALE —
 MILES 0 20 40 60 80 100 MILES

MAP No. III

MAP No. IV

Towns With a Population of 1,000 or More,
1871 - 1911



APPENDIX IThe Population of Metropolitan Adelaide

The definitions of the metropolitan area adopted in the compilation of the statistics which follow, and those included in the text, are set out below.

Series 1 - Metropolitan Adelaide - the size of the population

A metropolitan area was first defined in the census of 1891 as the area within a ten mile radius of the G.P.O. Adelaide. The census report of that year also included a figure for the same area as at the census of 1881. In the census of 1901 the same area was used. The Commonwealth Statistician, who conducted the next census in 1911, defined a slightly smaller area as metropolitan Adelaide. It covered 150,596 acres, instead of the 170,850 acres included in a ten mile radius. For the 1921 census the area was reduced still further to 137,716 acres. The Statistical Registers issued annually by the Bureau of Census and Statistics have for some time carried estimates of metropolitan Adelaide's population as at all census dates from 1846 to 1876. The basis of these estimates is the ten mile radius area.¹

From 1888 the Statistical Register each year carried an estimate of the metropolitan population as at December 31st.² At first this was based on four registration districts³ (see below Series 2) which covered a slightly smaller area than the ten mile radius. However, the ten mile radius probably became the basis

for the estimate in later years. Until 1910 these yearly estimates are not very reliable because they remain unrevised, contemporary estimates. For the years after 1911 the estimates were revised following the 1921 census, but then it is not clear whether the revised figures refer to the 1911 or the 1921 definition of the metropolitan area. The only yearly estimate I have used is for 31 December 1913, to show that Adelaide contained one half of the state's population by the end of the period covered by this thesis. For this purpose it matters little whether the estimate is based on the 1911 or the 1921 area. If it is on the 1911 area, the estimate is more consistent with earlier figures; if it is on the 1921 area, it is, in relation to the earlier figures, an under-estimate. In any case, the difference in the population of the two areas at any one time would constitute only a very small fraction of the state's population.

The figures given in Table 1 of the text are for the ten-mile radius until 1901; for the metropolitan area as defined by the Statistician in 1911 and 1921; and for one or other of these latter areas in 1913.

By taking a large, and almost constant metropolitan area, a fairly reliable indication of the city's growth can be obtained. However, such a method exaggerates the size of the city, particularly in the earlier years. By 1850 Hindmarsh and Port Adelaide were important suburbs of Adelaide, but a ten mile radius would have

included a considerable proportion of farmers. By 1870, with the greater development of suburbs, the ten mile radius exaggerates the city's size much less. In any case, our interest is not simply to assess the number of people in a true urban area. Whatever their occupation, people within a ten mile radius could readily take part in the city's social life. Nearly all the ten mile radius was included in what were known as the metropolitan electoral districts, so farming areas and their villages were politically linked with the suburbs. Farmers and artisans within the ten mile radius led different lives, but life for the Adelaide farmer was very different from that of a farmer 200 miles from the capital.

Whatever the shortcomings of this series, it is to be preferred to Coghlan's.⁴ His figure for 1861 is that of the City of Adelaide only. For 1881 and subsequent years his figures generally agree with those of the Statistical Register. The basis of his 1871 figure is not clear. It is 42,744 as opposed to the Register's 61,361. K. W. Robinson in "The Distinctive Character of Australian Urban Growth" follows Coghlan and hence exaggerates Adelaide's growth from 1861 to 1881.⁵ C. M. H. Clark reproduces Coghlan's 1871 figure, but not the completely misleading 1861 figure.⁶

Series 2 - Metropolitan Adelaide - births, deaths, and net migration

Special districts were defined for the registration of births, marriages and deaths. After 1874, when Yorke Peninsula and Kangaroo Island were separated from the Port Adelaide district, it is possible

to group the districts Adelaide, Port Adelaide, and Hindmarsh to acquire registration figures for metropolitan Adelaide.⁷ After 1891 the Statistical Registers provide figures for the metropolis calculated in this way. The area covered by these three districts - later four when Norwood was carved out of Adelaide in 1882 - was 167,680 acres. Subtracting deaths from births gives a figure for the natural increase in Adelaide's population over any period. Registrations in all other districts have been used to compute the natural increase in the country.

To arrive at net migration, natural increase has to be compared with actual increase. The metropolitan registration area does not differ greatly from the definitions of Series 1, but the unreliability of the yearly estimates in that series means that migration cannot be calculated on a yearly basis; actual increase can only be calculated reliably for intercensal periods. If only the censuses could be used, it seemed worthwhile to estimate the population within the registration districts by using the census figures of population in local government areas, instead of relying on the Series 1 census figures, which were collected for varying metropolitan areas, being sometimes less and mostly a little more than the registration district area. In Table 2 in the text actual increase has been calculated on this basis. Since the census was held at the end of the first quarter and the Statistical Registers provide quarterly returns of births and deaths, natural increase can be calculated precisely for intercensal periods.

Of course mothers bore children and people died in districts where they were not normally resident. Movement of the sick was much the more common practice. For many years the Registrar was at pains to explain why the City of Adelaide's death rate was much higher than the colony's. He asserted that it was merely a result of its being the colony's chief medical centre.⁸ The chief hospital and the only Destitute Asylum were in the city proper and all deaths in these institutions were registered there. Adelaide attracted the sick and the dying from all parts of the colony. Undoubtedly this helps to explain the City of Adelaide's high rate, but it is not nearly as satisfactory as an explanation for metropolitan Adelaide's death rate being consistently higher than the country's. What the Registrar failed to note was that infant mortality (which accounted for a high proportion of total deaths and whose registration was much less likely to be affected by movement) was always higher in metropolitan Adelaide than in the country,⁹ and that the old were attracted to Adelaide even when they were not sick. The Registrar seems to have been chiefly concerned to deny that Adelaide was an unhealthy place, and as the figures stand they are not a good guide to this. But this is not our prime concern, and for us these figures will reflect important social facts. We are just as interested in the old and sick going to Adelaide to their rest, as in the young going to find work. Furthermore, since some country

women may have had their children in Adelaide, the number of Adelaide births may be exaggerated. Births of country children in Adelaide would partially offset deaths of country people in Adelaide in the calculation of natural increase.

Nevertheless, for part of the period I append a revised table of net migration, in which natural increase has been calculated on the assumption that the death rate was the same in both Adelaide and the country. It will be seen that the basic features of the first table are still evident.

Net Migration Corrected for Uniform Death Rate

(Table 2 figures are shown in brackets)

	Net Migration	Migration as %age of initial population
<u>Adelaide</u>		
1891-1901	+ 2,100 (+ 6,800)	1.6 (5.3)
1901-1911	+ 7,000 (+10,300)	4.4 (6.5)
<u>Country</u>		
1891-1901	-17,900 (-22,400)	9.6 (12.1)
1901-1911	-11,000 (-14,700)	5.6 (7.3)

- Notes:
1. Corrected natural increase is based on calendar years, not intercensal periods.
 2. In assessing corrected natural increase, contemporary, unrevised estimates of mean population have been used.

Series 3 - Metropolitan Adelaide - the nature of the population

Though a metropolitan area was defined in the 1891 Census, neither in this nor the 1901 Census was detailed information about age, sex, conjugal condition, nationality, or occupation given for people in this area. In all the censuses up to 1901 this was only given for the population of counties, local government areas, and electoral districts: so one of these units has to be used to acquire information about metropolitan Adelaide. The county of Adelaide is too large to serve as a basis; district councils and municipalities could be used but a considerable number of areas would be involved; it is easier and equally satisfactory to use the seven metropolitan electoral districts - North, West, and East Adelaide, East and West Torrens, Sturt and Port Adelaide. After Yorke Peninsula had been removed from Port Adelaide in 1872, these districts comprised approximately 150,000 acres. Between the census years of 1876 and 1881 the boundaries remained unchanged. By 1891 the metropolitan districts had been reduced by 48,000 acres by the removal of waste and farming land to the north. These were still the boundaries in 1901.¹⁰ In the 1911 Census detailed information on the nature of the population is given for the metropolitan area as defined by the Statistician, which contains almost precisely the same acreage, and has roughly the same boundaries, as the electoral districts of 1876 and 1881. Though the reduction in area at the 1891 and 1901 censuses was considerable, the difference in

population involved was small. In 1911 the population of the metropolitan electoral districts, whose 1901 boundaries were unchanged, was 6,000 less than the Statistician's area. Because of this, and since all these changes involve the agricultural population on the fringes of the various "metropolitan areas", the reduced area has still been used. Series 3, then, is based on figures for the seven electoral districts from 1876 to 1901, and the Statistician's area in 1911.

APPENDIX II

The Population of Country Towns

The South Australian censuses of 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901 record the population of corporations and of towns and townships with more than fifty inhabitants. The corporation areas were those defined for local government administration. The Statistician did not indicate how he defined the boundaries of towns and townships. In 1876 the census records the population of corporations, but not of towns and townships. The first Commonwealth Census in 1911 records the population of corporations and what the Statistician called "Localities". The Locality figures are most unsatisfactory. The areas of the localities were not defined by the Statistician: "the population given for any locality represents the number of person who returned themselves and their dwellings as belonging to that locality". For some larger centres the Locality figure can be taken as a satisfactory measure of the size of the town, but these figures are usually poor guides to the size of smaller towns because people within a town's surrounding district have been included along with those actually living in the town. Because of the deficiencies of these figures, it is not possible to assess the number of people living in towns of 500-1,000 in 1911. They also make it difficult to assess precisely the number living in towns over 1,000. Many

localities are recorded as having 1,000 people or more. However, the only towns which I have put in this category are those which appear in Table 4 in the text. From their previous population and on other evidence of a general kind it seems reasonable to accept the figures given for these localities as the size of the town population. The difficulty with the Locality figures is to know which towns to exclude. The size of the towns which were clearly large can be ascertained more easily since most of the larger towns were corporations, for which the 1911 Census does provide precise information.

In several cases the boundaries of country corporations were very narrowly defined. To obtain a realistic figure for the size of the town, the population outside the corporation has to be included. It is usually possible to do this by using the Town and Township figures which include as separate items the "suburbs" of the larger towns. The cases in which adjustments have been made to the corporation figures are set out in detail below.

In a few cases the population of towns which were not corporations has to be constituted from several figures because in the Town and Township returns the town was divided and the population of its various parts entered separately. Details of these cases are also set out below. Two of these towns remained in the 500-1,000 class. Details of their population at the various censuses have not been recorded in this thesis, but these amalgamations affect

the calculation of the number of people living in towns over 500, which was made for the presentation of Table 3 in the text.

In three instances a town listed in the Town and Township returns as having more than 500 inhabitants has been excluded in computing the number of people living in towns of 500 or more. I have not treated the Renmark Irrigation Colony (population 905, in 1901) as a town, and I have regarded the figures for Clinton and Aldinga in 1891 as mistaken. I don't consider they could have had a population in excess of 500.

Towns whose population had been arrived at by an amalgamation
of census figures, or by estimate

In years other than those referred to, the population of the town has been taken as that given for the corporation or listed in the Town and Township returns.

Auburn

In 1871 Auburn and Auburn (new) combined gives a total population of 569.

Burra

The figure for 1871 is composed of the three towns, Aberdeen, Redruth, and Kooringa.

Gawler

For a description of Gawler and its suburbs, see E. H. Coombe, History of Gawler, 1837 to 1908, Adelaide, 1910, pp.1-4.

The figures have been compiled in this way:

	1871	1881	1891	1901
Gawler Corporation	1,652	1,811	2,122	1,996
Willaston	394	299	352	381
Gawler South		768	1,035	1,287
Gawler West		242	246	243
Bassett Town		145	259	242
Bertha		83	72	107
Gulf View				97
Evanston				65
	2,046	3,348	4,086	4,418

The 1911 Census does not give the population of all the suburbs. I have accepted the single Locality figure for Gawler of 4,037. The figure quoted for 1876 in Table 4 in the text is an estimate.

Kadina and Moonta

The Corporations of Kadina and Moonta did not include the mining leases where most of the miners lived. The only census to give a detailed account of the population on the mining leases was that for 1901. It was as follows:

<u>Moonta</u>		<u>Kadina</u>	
Moonta Corporation	1,607	Kadina Corporation	1,728
East Moonta	1,140	Wallaroo Mines	1,946
Moonta Mines	1,680	Newtown	275
North Moonta	101	Jericho	161
Cross Roads	797	Jerusalem	66
Yelta	367		
North Yelta	75		
			4,176
	5,767		

In estimating the population for the years 1876, 1881 and 1891, I have used the figure for the Hundred of Wallaroo, which included the three mining centres, Wallaroo, Moonta and Kadina. After giving the population of the three corporations, the census records the population of the Remnant of the Hundred of Wallaroo, i.e. the people living outside the corporations. Most of these were resident on the mining leases around Kadina and Moonta. In 1901 55% of them were living in the various centres around Moonta (listed above), and 32% in those around Kadina. The estimates for 1876, 1881 and 1891 have been made on the assumption that the proportions of the Remnant population living near Moonta and Kadina in those years were the same as in 1901.

In 1911 no figures were issued for the Hundred of Wallaroo. However the population recorded for the District Council of Kadina enables us to assess the situation on the mining leases. The District Council included the Remnant of the Hundred of Wallaroo and the adjacent Hundred of Kadina. In 1901 its population was 8,185 and in 1911 it fell very slightly to 8,096. Since the population on the mining leases constituted nearly all this total, it has been assumed that the mining lease population remained stationary between 1901 and 1911. The differences in the total figures for Kadina and Moonta between these years is accounted for by changes in the population of the corporation areas.

The figures used for these estimates are set out below:

	1876	1881	1891	1901	1911
Moonta Corporation	1,731	1,418	1,487	1,607	1,371
Kadina Corporation	1,832	1,521	1,446	1,728	1,852
Remnant Hd. of Wallaroo	10,039	8,722	6,962	7,547	-
District Council Kadina				8,185	8,096

In 1871 there were no corporations in this area. The Township figures for the mining centres are as follows:

Moonta Mines	3,791	
Moonta	<u>984</u>	4,775
Kadina		1,855
Wallaroo		<u>1,983</u>
		<u>8,613</u>

In the table I have used these figures for Moonta and Wallaroo, but the Kadina figure seems too small. Taken together, these figures give a total population of 8,613; whereas the total population in the Hundred of Wallaroo was 11,532. Since nearly all the population in the Hundred was engaged in mining or connected with the mining towns (in 1861 before the mines were in operation the population in the Hundred was only 201), I have allotted some of this surplus population to Kadina. In 1876 the population of Kadina was 69.7% of Moonta's, and I have assumed that the proportion in 1871 was the same.

Mount Barker

In 1891 and 1901 comprises Mount Barker and Mount Barker North. I have accepted the Locality figure for 1911.

Mount Gambier

The figures have been compiled in this way:

	1871	1881	1891	1901
Gambiertown	1,604			
Claraville	540			
Mt. Gambier Corporation		2,403	2,655	3,162
Rosaville	225	233	201	261
North Gambier			307	561
Sutton Town			113	176
	2,369	2,636	3,276	4,160

The 1911 Census does not give the population of all the suburbs. I have accepted the single Locality figure for Mount Gambier of 4,531. The figure given for 1876 in the table in the text is an estimate.

Naracoorte

In 1871 comprises Kincaig and Naracoorte.

Port Augusta

The figures have been compiled in this way:

	1871	1876	1881	1891	1901	1911
Port Augusta	551					
Port Augusta Corporation		569	1,318	1,274	1,001	811
Port Augusta Extension			757			
Davenport			85			
Pt. Augusta West Corp.				336	369	250
Davenport Corporation				895	763	421
	551	569	2,160	2,505	2,133	1,482

Port Pirie

In 1881 comprises the corporation plus the Township listing, "Port Pirie outside corporation".

Quorn

The figures have been compiled in this way:

	1881	1891	1901
Quorn	540		
Quorn Corporation		513	677
North Quorn		99	144
West Quorn		66	161
South Quorn		89	
Quorn Park			126
	540	767	1,108

In 1901 in the Township returns there is an entry for Quorn, undefined, of 425. This has been omitted. It probably refers to the population outside the Corporation, which is accounted for as shown above. The 1911 Census does not give figures for these suburbs.

I have accepted the single Locality figure for Quorn of 1,502.

Riverton

In 1891 and 1901 comprises Riverton and East Riverton.

Terowie

The figures have been compiled in this way:

	1881	1891	1901
Terowie	687		822
Terowie (Government)		183	200
Terowie (extension)		232	
Terowie (private)		454	
	687	869	1,022

For 1911 I have accepted the Locality figure of 941.

APPENDIX III

Distribution within South Australia in 1881 of
People not born in the Colony

A. Number of immigrants resident in Adelaide and the Country

Time of Arrival	Males		Females		Total	
	Adelaide	Country	Adelaide	Country	Adelaide	Country
1836-1870	11,892	24,237	12,703	19,478	24,595	43,715
1871-1875	2,455	2,914	1,819	1,356	4,274	4,270
1876-1881	10,111	8,633	7,706	4,267	17,817	12,900

B. Proportion of immigrants resident in Adelaide and the Country

Time of Arrival	Males		Females		Total	
	Adelaide	Country	Adelaide	Country	Adelaide	Country
1836-1870	33%	67%	39%	61%	36%	64%
1871-1875	46%	54%	57%	43%	50%	50%
1876-1881	54%	46%	64%	36%	58%	42%

C. Females/100 males of immigrants settled in the Colony, Adelaide, and the Country

Time of Arrival	Colony	Adelaide	Country
1836-1870	89	107	80
1871-1875	59	74	47
1876-1881	64	76	49

Source: 1881 Census, Length of Residence in Colony. For the definition of the Adelaide area, see Appendix I, Series 3.

APPENDIX IVOccupations of the People in Adelaide, the
Country and South Australia, 1876, 1881, 1901, 1911Notes

1. The classification of occupations in the tables which follow is that of the 1901 South Australian Census and the 1911 Commonwealth Census, to which the South Australian figures for 1876 and 1881 have been converted. Since the censuses of these years did not in all cases distinguish between commercial and industrial activity (e.g. a single figure is given for those making and selling boots and shoes), a precise conversion is impossible. However, any errors resulting from this difficulty would be slight.
2. The classification Industrial (Indefinite) requires some comment. The majority of persons in this category had classified themselves as "labourers". The assumption that all these were labouring in Industry is unwarranted. In the country many of these would probably have been agricultural labourers for at least part of the year. Full-time farm labourers would be more certainly classified under Agriculture. In so far as they can be classified as Industrial, these people would be more likely to be engaged in Building and Construction than in Manufacturing.
3. The category Other Primary includes those engaged in forestry, water conservation, hunting, etc.

4. The figures for South Australia exclude those in the category Shipping.
5. It is not possible to obtain separate figures for Adelaide and the Country from the 1891 Census.
6. For the definition of the Adelaide area, see Appendix I, Series 3.

A. Number in each ClassificationAdelaide

	1876	1881	1901	1911
Professional and Government	2,091	3,216	5,400	7,280
Domestic	3,919	5,848	9,423	9,003
Commercial	4,072	6,321	13,660	18,724
Transport and Communication	1,532	3,017	5,221	7,959
Industry (Manufacture)	6,000	8,766	15,485	22,306
Industry (Construction)	2,211	5,271	4,750	7,071
Industry (Indefinite)	3,069	3,826	2,937	3,116
Agricultural and Pastoral	1,879	2,185	3,540	4,291
Mining	93	204	445	659
Other Primary	188	117	186	286
Independent and Indefinite	476	762	1,296b	905
Dependent	44,089	60,996	90,537	106,367
Unemployed	276	453	a	a
Not stated	211	869	b	1,679
Total	70,106	101,851	152,880	189,646

a. Unemployed are included under classification in which normally employed.

b. Independent and Indefinite includes Not stated.

A. Number in each ClassificationCountry

	1876	1881	1901	1911
Professional and Government	1,847	2,649	3,246	3,843
Domestic	4,226	6,000	8,157	8,450
Commercial	2,954	3,877	6,050	8,165
Transport and Communication	1,479	2,539	4,407	5,868
Industry (Manufacture)	5,038	6,537	9,228	11,269
Industry (Construction)	2,238	4,971	3,988	5,266
Industry (Indefinite)	4,863	4,540	4,233	3,446
Agricultural and Pastoral	24,793	32,139	37,061	39,535
Mining	3,227	1,932	4,131	2,559
Other Primary	276	251	1,236	1,582
Independent and Indefinite	496	645	1,403b	785
Dependent	88,823	103,978	117,981	122,047
Unemployed	252	310	a	a
Not stated	378	657	b	3,358
Total	140,890	171,025	201,121	216,173

a. Unemployed are included under classification in which normally employed.

b. Independent and Indefinite includes Not stated.

A. Number in each ClassificationSouth Australia

	1876	1881	1901	1911
Professional and Government	3,938	5,865	8,646	11,123
Domestic	8,145	11,848	17,580	17,453
Commercial	7,026	10,198	19,710	26,889
Transport and Communication	3,011	5,556	9,628	13,827
Industry (Manufacture)	11,038	15,303	24,713	33,575
Industry (Construction)	4,449	10,242	8,738	12,337
Industry (Indefinite)	7,932	8,366	7,170	6,562
Agricultural and Pastoral	26,672	34,324	40,601	43,826
Mining	3,320	2,136	4,576	3,218
Other Primary	464	368	1,422	1,868
Independent and Indefinite	972	1,407	2,699b	1,690
Dependent	132,912	164,974	208,518	228,414
Unemployed	528	763	a	a
Not stated	589	1,526	b	5,037
Total	210,996	272,876	354,001	405,819

a. Unemployed are included under classification in which normally employed.

b. Independent and Indefinite includes Not stated.

B. Numbers Employed in each Occupation expressed as percentage
of all Stated Occupations

	Adelaide				Country				South Australia			
	1876	1881	1901	1911	1876	1881	1901	1911	1876	1881	1901	1911
Professional and Government	8.3	8.3	8.8	9.0	3.6	4.0	4.0	4.3	5.2	5.6	6.1	6.5
Domestic	15.6	15.1	15.4	11.1	8.3	9.2	10.0	9.4	10.7	11.4	12.3	10.2
Commercial	16.3	16.3	22.4	23.2	5.8	5.9	7.4	9.1	9.2	9.8	13.8	15.8
Transport and Communication	6.1	7.8	8.6	9.9	2.9	3.9	5.4	6.5	4.0	5.3	6.7	8.1
Industry (Manufacture)	24.0	22.6	25.4	27.7	9.9	10.0	11.3	12.5	14.5	14.7	17.3	19.7
Industry (Building)	8.8	13.6	7.8	8.8	4.4	7.6	4.9	5.8	5.9	9.8	6.2	7.2
Industry (Indefinite)	12.3	9.9	4.8	3.8	9.5	6.9	5.2	3.8	10.4	8.0	5.0	3.8
Agricultural and Pastoral	7.5	5.6	5.8	5.3	48.7	49.1	45.3	43.9	35.1	32.9	28.4	25.7
Mining	.4	.5	.7	.8	6.4	3.0	5.0	2.8	4.4	2.1	3.2	1.9
Other Primary	.7	.3	.3	.4	.5	.4	1.5	1.9	.6	.4	1.0	1.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

APPENDIX V

Conjugal Condition of Males and Females (ages 15 and over)

in Adelaide and the Country, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911

	Males		Females	
	Adelaide	Country	Adelaide	Country
	%	%	%	%
1881				
Never Married	45.0	49.8	37.4	33.3
Married	51.8	47.2	53.4	60.1
Widows, Widowers	3.2	3.0	9.2	6.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1891				
Never Married	43.0	48.5	39.8	36.2
Married	52.8	47.7	49.2	55.9
Widows, Widowers	4.2	3.8	11.0	7.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1901				
Never Married	45.4	49.5	44.0	40.4
Married	49.9	46.2	45.4	51.3
Widows, Widowers	4.7	4.3	10.6	8.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1911				
Never Married	43.8	50.7	42.0	39.8
Married	51.9	45.5	48.0	52.4
Widows, Widowers*	4.3	3.8	10.0	7.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Divorcees, first recorded at this census, are included.

Source: See Appendix I, Series 3.

APPENDIX VI

Changes in the Proportion of each age group
(of both males and females) resident in Adelaide
during intercensal periods, 1876-1911

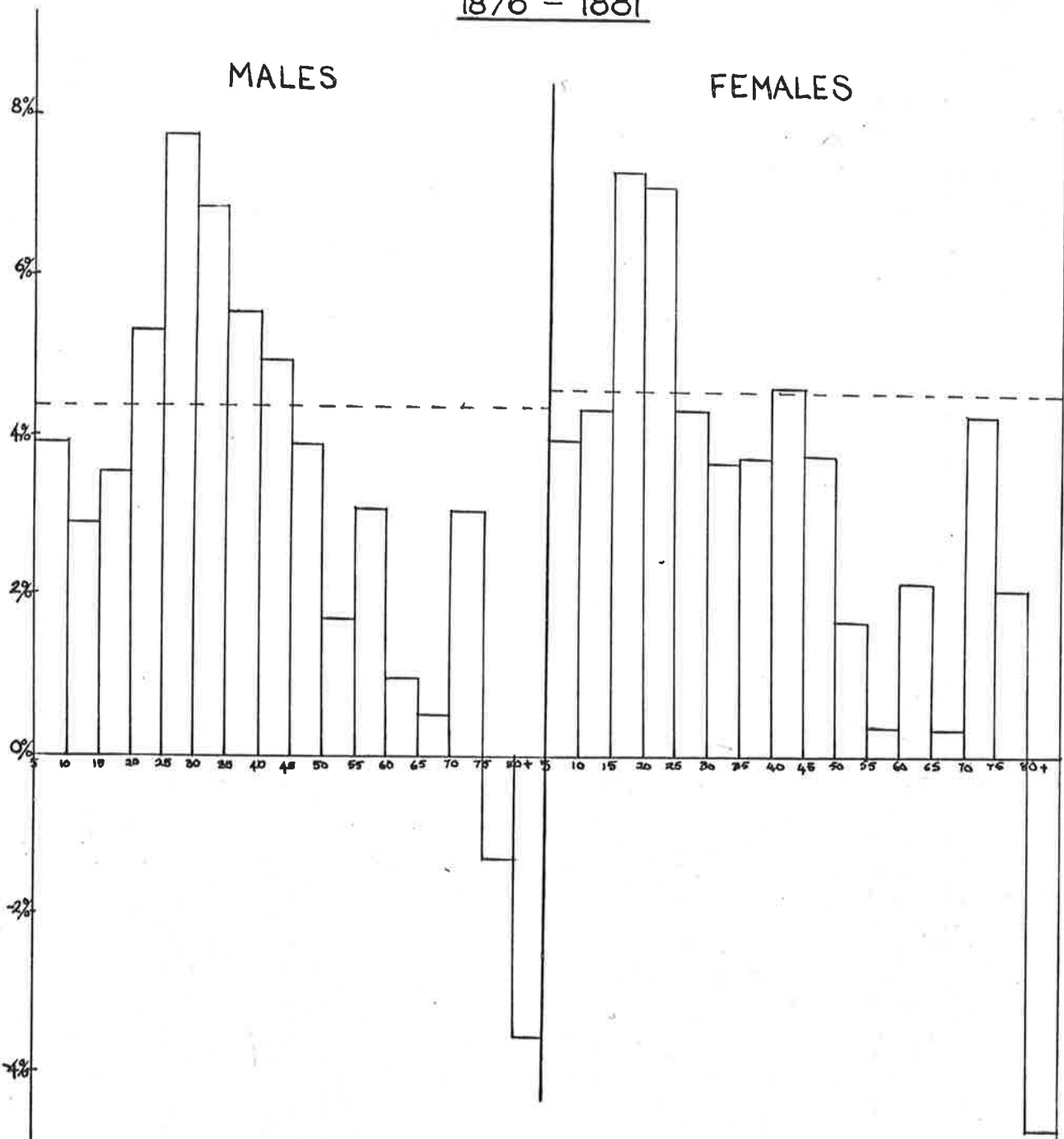
Note: The dotted lines mark the amount of change for all age groups.

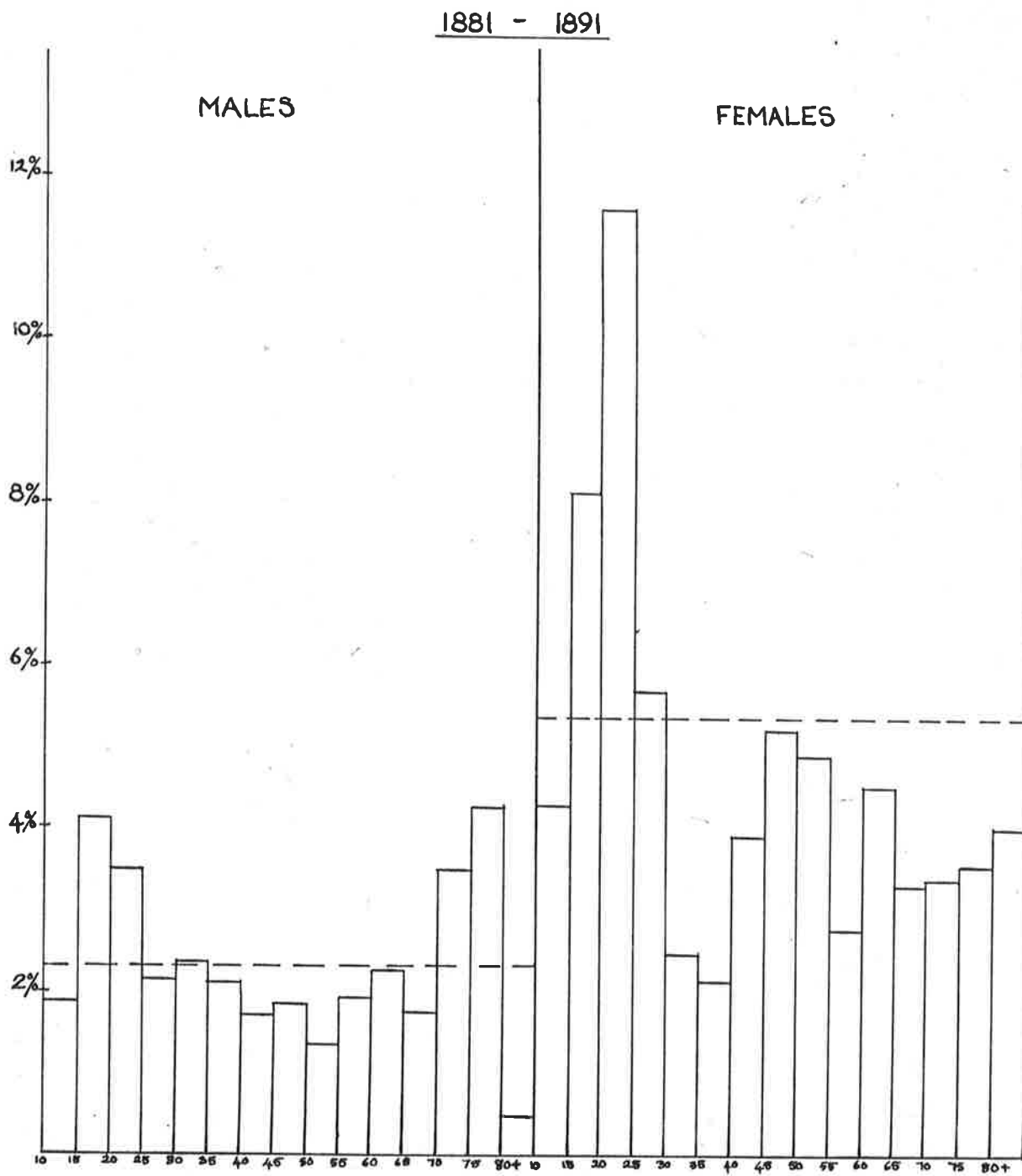
Source: See Appendix I, Series 3.

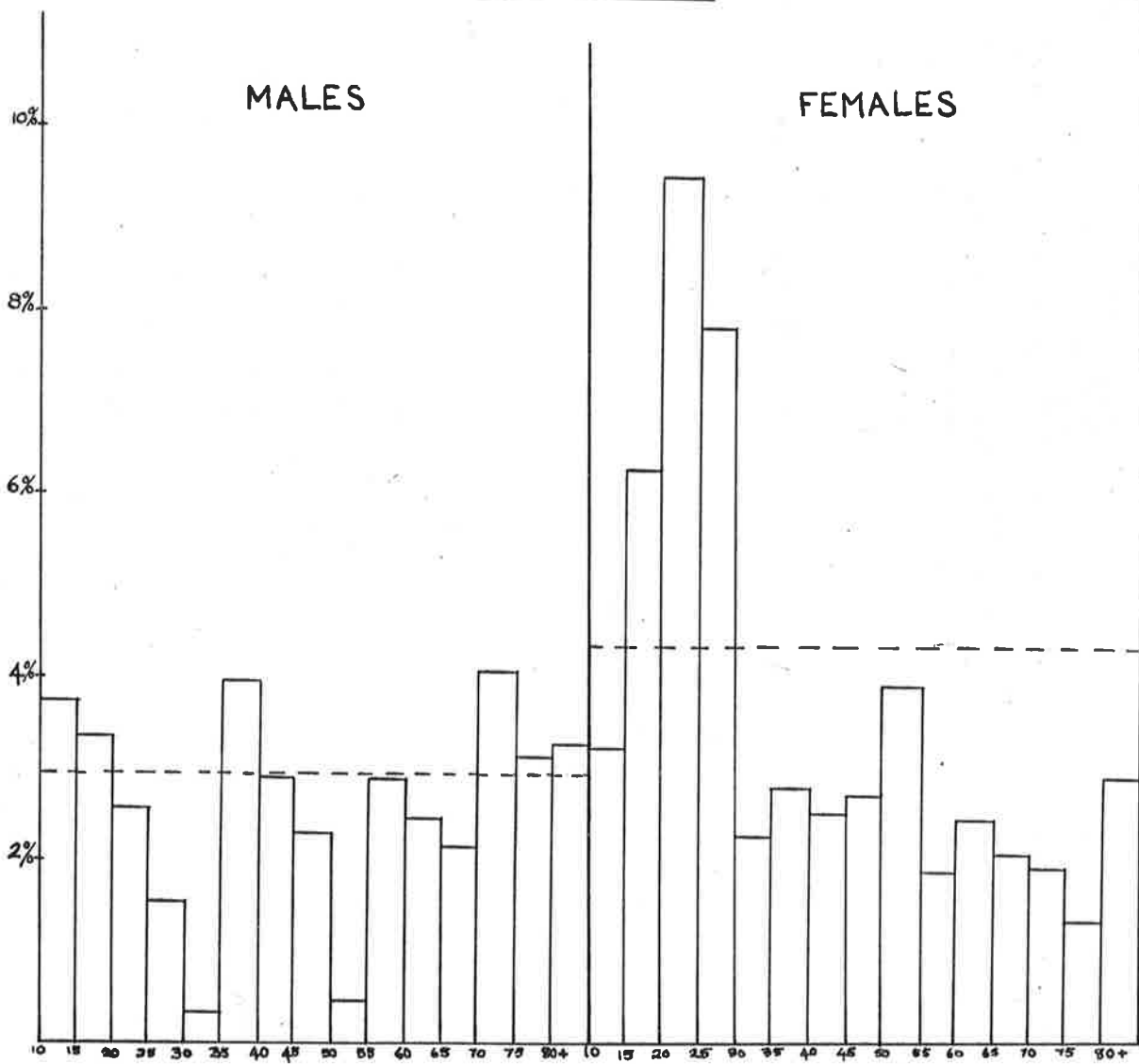
1876 - 1881

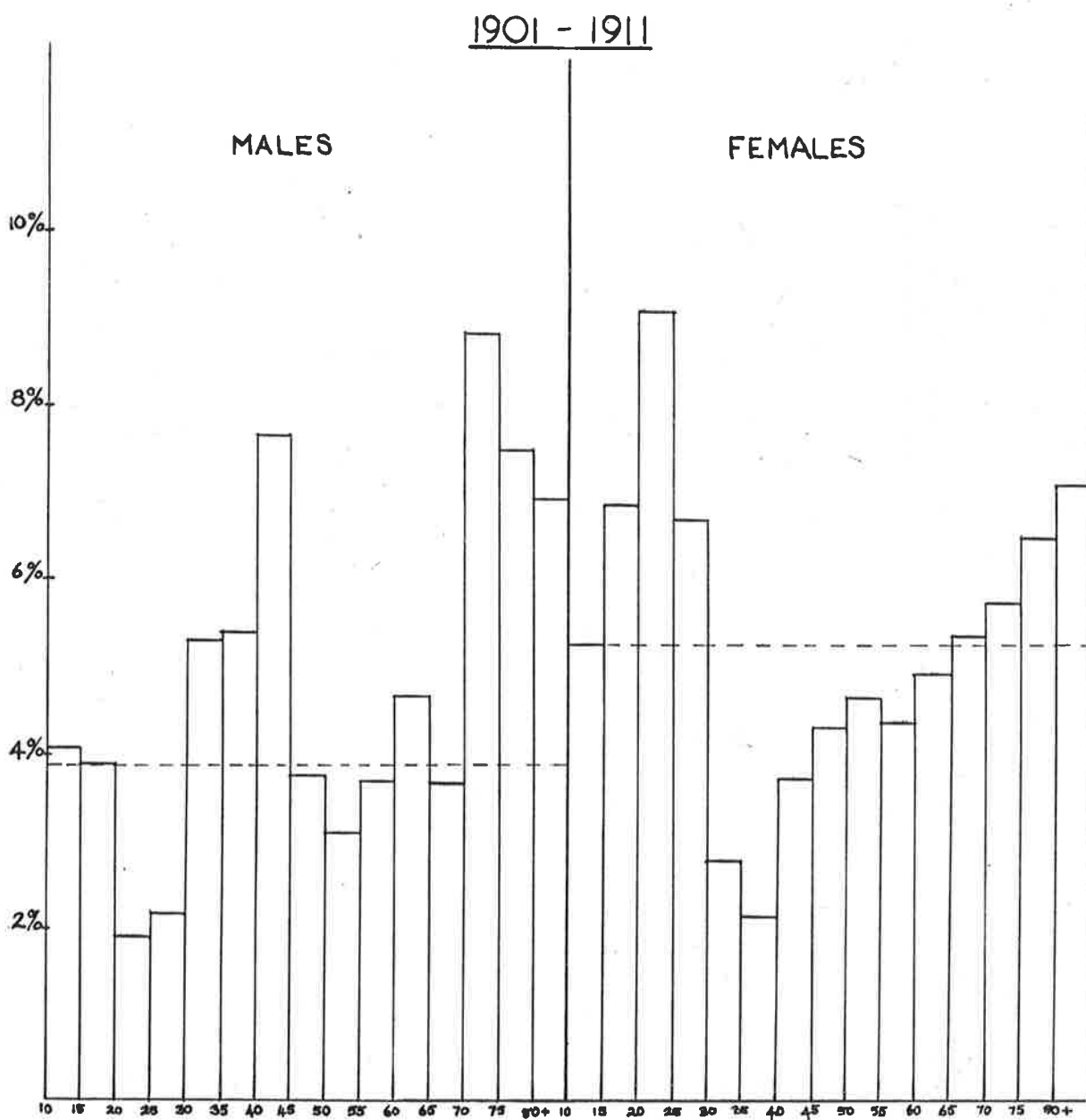
MALES

FEMALES





1891 - 1901



APPENDIX VII

The Australian Capital Cities: The Proportion of the
Metropolitan Population to that of the Colony or State

	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Sydney	27%	30%	34%	35%	38%
Melbourne	28	33	43	41	45
Brisbane	13	15	25	24	23
Adelaide	33	38	42	45	46
Perth				37	38
Hobart	26	24	23	20	21

Source: T. A. Coghlan, A Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand, 1902-1903, Sydney, 1904, p.172 has a table showing the percentages for 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1902. Where his population figures conflict with those of C. M. H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History, 1851-1900, Sydney, 1955, p.666, I have preferred Clark's. For the South Australian figure for 1871 see above, Appendix I, series 1. The 1911 percentages are based on the figures given in the Commonwealth Census for that year.

APPENDIX VIII
Wool Exports, 1870-1884

A. The Value of Wool Exported at each Port, 1870-1884

	1870-74	1875-79	1880-84	1870-84
Pt. Adelaide a	£4,573,533	£ 5,762,386	£ 6,774,455	£17,110,374
Pt. Augusta	1,238,435	1,796,785	1,548,845	4,584,065
Pt. Victor	608,593	1,222,935	1,546,063	3,377,591
Kingston b	177,280	872,985	958,590	2,008,855
Robe	357,384	124,928	31,298	513,610
Beachport	-	3,076	107,481	110,557
Pt. MacDonnell	858,264	710,149	434,323	2,002,736
	£7,813,489	£10,493,244	£11,401,055	£29,707,788

B. Proportion of the Colony's Wool Exports Shipped at each Port, 1870-1884

	1870-74	1875-79	1880-84	1870-84
Pt. Adelaide a	58.5%	54.9%	59.4%	57.6%
Pt. Augusta	15.8	17.0	13.6	15.4
Pt. Victor	7.8	11.6	13.6	11.4
Kingston b	2.3	8.3	8.4	6.8
Robe	4.6	1.2	.3	1.7
Beachport	-	.3	.9	.4
Pt. MacDonnell	11.0	6.7	3.8	6.7

a Port Adelaide includes Glenelg

b Kingston was called Port Caroline

Source: Quarterly Customs Returns, published in S.A.P.P.

APPENDIX IXPort Victor's Share of the Murray Wool Trade, 1868-1902

Years	A Value of Wool Imports via River Murray (£000's)	B Value of non-S.A. Wool Exported at Pt. Victor (£000's)	B/A %
1868-1872	1,024	388	38
1873-1877	1,438	716	50
1878-1882	2,691	1,051	39
1883-1887	2,760	1,377	50
1888-1892	2,068	628	30
1893-1897	1,623	590	36
1898-1902	676	132	19

Source: Statistical Registers, 1868-1902.

Quarterly Customs Returns, published in S.A.P.P. 1868-1884.

Note: Commodity figures for exports at the various ports were not published after 1884. In subsequent years only the total value of the trade (in both South Australian and other goods) can be ascertained. The Series has been continued by assuming that all non South Australian goods exported at Port Victor were exports of Murray wool.

APPENDIX XGovernment Revenue, 1870-1914A. The Chief Sources of Government Revenue, 1870-1914

(in f000's)

Years	Total Revenue	Land	Customs Duties	Land and Income Tax	Probate, Succession Duties, Stamp Tax
1870-1874	3,098	1,282	1,414		
1875-1879	5,278	2,246	2,360		30
1880-1884	6,814	2,801	2,833		81
1885-1889	5,981	1,336	2,537	560	209
1890-1894	5,928	1,187	2,835	622	336
1895-1899	6,085	927	2,833	789	513
1900-1904	6,307	744	2,964	909	543
1905-1909	8,399	1,326	3,431	1,298	768
1910-1914	10,409	1,788	2,632	1,728	1,104

B. The Chief Sources of Government Revenue, 1870-1914:Their Proportion to Total Revenue Receipts

Years	Land	Customs Duties	Land and Income Tax	Probate, Succession Duties, Stamp Tax
1870-1874	41.4%	45.6%		
1875-1879	42.6	44.7		.6%
1880-1884	41.1	41.6		1.2
1885-1889	22.3	42.4	9.4%	3.5
1890-1894	20.0	47.8	10.5	5.7
1895-1899	15.2	46.6	13.0	8.4
1900-1904	11.8	47.0	14.4	8.6
1905-1909	15.8	40.9	15.5	9.1
1910-1914	17.2	25.3	16.6	10.6

Source: Statistical Registers - Revenue and Expenditure

Notes:

1. The total revenue figure excludes money raised by loan, and the receipts from the government instrumentalities - railways, telegraph and waterworks. It does include fees received for other government services such as education.
2. The figure for land revenue gives the total income derived from crown lands; from sales, leases, licences (e.g. to cut timber and gather stone), from the Woods and Forests Department, and after 1890 from the lands endowed for education.
3. After 1901 the figure cited under Customs Duties is the amount of revenue received from the Commonwealth Government.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.L.	Australian National League
L.U.	Liberal Union
S.A.A.	South Australian Archives
	B.R.G. Business Record Group
	G.R.G. Government Record Group
	P.R.G. Private Record Group
	S.R.G. Society Record Group
<u>S.A.P.D.</u>	<u>South Australian Parliamentary Debates</u>
<u>S.A.P.P.</u>	<u>South Australian Parliamentary Papers</u>
U.L.P.	United Labour Party

NOTES PART I, SECTION 1

1. For the proportion of people resident in the capital of each colony, see Appendix VII.
2. Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1911, Vol.III, p.2090.
3. See Appendix III.
4. K.W.A. Bray, "Government-Sponsored Immigration into South Australia, 1872-1886", M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1961, p.125.
5. E. Dunsdorfs, The Australian Wheat Growing Industry, Melbourne, 1956, pp.532-535.
6. Journal of Agriculture, Vol. VIII (1904-05), pp.541, 689, 696, XIII (1909-10), p.214; Australia, Its Land, Conditions and Prospects, The Observations and Experiences of the Scottish Agricultural Commission of 1910-1911, London, 1911, pp.232-233.
7. Journal of Agriculture, Vol.IV (1900-01), pp.36-37, 1028-29, V (1901-02), pp. 122-123, 690, 764-5, 949, XV (1911-12), pp.167-8.
8. Observer, 11 July 1903, p.12; S. J. Way to Lord Tennyson, 9 Jan.1906, P.R.G. 30/5/10, p.324; Register, 2 Feb. 1914, p.10; and see above note 7.
9. Journal of Agriculture, Vol.V (1901-02), p.793, Vol. XIV (1910-11), pp.415, 421, 1011. For two abortive schemes to overcome the shortage, see ibid., Vol.XV (1911-12), pp.394-5, 1246, XVI (1912-1913), p.49, and ibid., Vol.XIV (1910-11), p.260, XV (1911-12), pp.259, 602; S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1913, pp.298, 753-4.
10. S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1911, pp.111-115.
11. Journal of Agriculture, Vol.XVI (1912-1913), pp.886-889; S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1913, pp.298-305. The first group of boys arrived in 1914. The scheme was suspended during the war and revived afterwards. For a report on its operation see S.A.P.P., 1924/60.
12. Journal of Agriculture, Vol.IV (1900-1901), pp.222-225. Vol.V (1901-1902), p.850, Vol.XIV (1910-1911), pp.912, 1099-1100, Vol.XVII (1913-1914), p.107; E. W. Parish, The Real West Coast, Adelaide, 1906, p.44. For interest in the tractor, see Journal of Agriculture, Vol.XIV (1910-11), pp.280-285.
13. See Appendix IV.
14. Ibid.

15. The increase in the number of miners in 1901 (see Appendix IV) was a result of gold being found at Tarcoola in 1900. For a survey of mineral discoveries, see C. M. Willington, "The Mineral Industry Contribution to the Development of South Australia", Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch, Vol.62 (1960-1961), pp.47-55.
16. See Appendix IV.
17. G. Serle, The Golden Age, A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861, Melbourne, 1963, p.370.
18. G. Casey and T. Mayman, The Mile That Midas Touched, (Seal Books), Adelaide, 1968, p.129.
19. T. A. Coghlan, A Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand, 1902-1903, Sydney, 1904, p.173. I have treated Kalgoorlie and Boulder as one centre. For its population, see note 18 above.
20. E. H. Coombe, History of Gawler 1837 to 1908, Adelaide, 1910, pp.97, 288.
21. For a discussion of the government townships, see D. W. Meinig, On the Margins of the Good Earth, The South Australian Wheat Frontier, 1869-1884, London, 1963, chap.VIII.
22. Commonwealth Census 1911, Vol.I, p.132.
23. T. A. Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia, Oxford, 1918, Vol. III, pp.1550, 1553.
24. S.A.P.P. 1877/102, qq.342, 377-378, 458-468.
25. Farmers Messenger, 29 May 1874, p.4; Journal of Agriculture, Vol.XIV (1910-11), pp.421, 904, 995, XVI (1912-13), p.221.
26. Scottish Agricultural Commission, Australia, Its Land, Conditions and Prospects, pp.148-149.
27. Journal of Agriculture, Vol.IV (1900-1901), pp.225-226.
28. See below pp.98-100.
29. See Appendix V.
30. For location of industries, see S.A.P.P., 1891/153, pp.231-234. Nearly all the clothing and tailoring workshops were in Adelaide.

31. See Appendix V.
32. N. G. Butlin has drawn attention to the role of dependents as contributors to a rapidly expanding urban population (Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900, Cambridge, 1964, pp.198-200). The occupation figures I have extracted show that in the period 1876-1911 dependents were distributed between Adelaide and the country in the same ratio as the general population (the figures for dependents are not reproduced in the thesis). The excess of females in Adelaide was balanced by the excess of children in the country.
33. They would also, of course, be affected by deaths. This is discussed below.
34. From 1891 the Statistical Registers published death rates for metropolitan Adelaide and the country. For a discussion of Adelaide's high death rate, see Appendix I, Series 2.
35. For an account of the Destitute Board's activities, see below, pp.269-273.
36. See Register of Admissions to Destitute Asylum, G.R.G.29/5.

NOTES PART I, SECTION 2

1. J. W. Higgins, The South Australian Mining Association, 1845-1877, B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1956, p.65;
I. J. Bettinson, Kapunda: A Study of the Establishment of a Community in Rural South Australia, B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1960, p.16.
2. For a social history of the Peninsula mines, see O. Pryor, Australia's Little Cornwall, Adelaide, 1962.
3. This account is taken from D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, South Australia 1829-1857, Melbourne, 1957, pp.331-333.
4. Bagot's neighbour F. S. Dutton had also discovered the copper. He received a quarter share in the venture which he sold soon afterwards in London, Article "Bagot, Charles Harvey", in Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol. I, Melbourne, 1966, p.47.
5. S. R. Parr, "Ayers, Sir Henry", in Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 3, Melbourne, 1969, pp.63-64.
6. South Australian Homes and Gardens, Feb. 1950, pp.44-45.
7. G. Blainey, The Rush That Never Ended, Melbourne, 1963, pp.116-118.
8. Elder Smith and Co.Ltd., Elder Smith and Co.Ltd., The First Hundred Years, Adelaide, 1940, pp.9-21.
9. Proprietors of Wallaroo Mines and Smelting Works, Minutes of Meetings, B.R.G.40/Acc.542, 17 Aug. 1860, 28 Aug. 1861.
10. Proprietors of the Moonta Mines, Minutes of Meetings, B.R.G.40/Acc. 543, 11 Dec. 1861, 2 Jan. 1862.
11. Elder Smith and Co., The First Hundred Years, pp.21, 24.
12. In 1890 the two mining companies were combined. For the directors after that date see Wallaroo and Moonta Mining and Smelting Co., Minutes of Meetings of Board of Directors, 1890-1922, B.R.G. 40/Acc.1034.
13. C. H. Bagot, A Holograph Memoir of Capt. Charles Harvey Bagot of the 87th Regiment, Adelaide, 1942 (no pages, but see p.28 of S.A.A. copy, 1384/9).
14. See note 4 above.

15. C. M. H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History, 1788-1850, Sydney, 1950, pp.252-6.
16. Government Gazette, 7 Nov. 1850, pp.629-631.
17. Before 1860 governments sometimes sold land around the headstation of a run - presumably at the squatter's request - even though the land was not part of a Hundred, and was beyond the settled areas. The squatter had no right to demand this: it was a concession. After 1860 the practice ceased. See Grant Book (County not named), Department of Lands; S.A.P.P., 1865/73 Report; Observer, 27 April 1895, p.12.
18. Detailed information on all freeholds over 5,000 acres is available in seven volumes of reports (S.A.A. Temp. Accession 134) prepared by the Lands Department for the presentation of S.A.P.P. 1891/53.
19. W. Oldham, The Land Policy of South Australia from 1830 to 1842, Adelaide, 1917, chap.IV, and end paper map.
20. See S.A.P.P. 1865/73, Report and qq.452-456, 2204-5, 2525-6; H. & F. Rymill, the Adelaide agents for the English proprietors of Canowie, explain how they acquired the freehold of this run in their regular reports which appear in the J. B. Graham Papers, P.R.G.100, Reel 3, Section 4. See especially report of 25 April 1870.
21. See E. Ward, The Southeastern District of South Australia: Its Resources and Requirements, Adelaide, 1869, especially pp.46-55, 70.
22. A full discussion of the land reform movement appears below, pp.159-191.
23. Under Act No.360 of 1869.
24. See G. Buxton, South Australian Land Acts, 1869-1885, Adelaide, 1966, pp.8-9.
25. S.A.P.P. 1871/71, 125; G.R.G. 35/1/1871/288.
26. For an excellent account of the development of the new agricultural areas, see D. W. Meinig, On The Margins of The Good Earth, The South Australian Wheat Frontier, 1869-1884, London, 1963. For a map of the new railways, see Map II, Vol.2.
27. For the decline of Napperby see Chronicle, 11 Nov. 1871, p.8; Farmers Messenger, 11 Dec. 1874, p.6. Hans Mincham in The Story of the Flinders Ranges, Adelaide, 1964, pp.95-101, 121, describes

the rise and fall of the stations in the Lower Flinders. For Pekina see also Observer, 1 Aug. 1908, p.43. Coonatto, which was reduced to a little over 1,000 acres after 1876, had been "the showplace of the Flinders Ranges". One of its most notable visitors in the sixties was Charles Pearson. John Tregenza describes the station and its society in Professor of Democracy The Life of C. H. Pearson, Melbourne, 1968, pp.39-40, 56-58. When the run was resumed Stokes, the manager and part-owner, retreated to a house on Mt. Lofty ridge overlooking Adelaide.

28. For each estate over 5,000 acres the Lands Department report of 1890-91 (S.A.A. Temp. Accession, 134) indicates how much land was held in which Hundreds. By checking the dates of declaration of Hundreds and by referring to the Grant Books at the Department of Lands it is possible to establish when freehold to part of the run was first acquired.
29. For the abuse of the acts see Buxton, Land Acts, pp.20, 40-52. Buxton wrongly assumes that dummyming had taken place in all cases where pastoralists eventually acquired land which had been selected on credit. Many bona fide selectors sold out to pastoralists and selected again. See S.A.P.P. 1890/60, p.16.
30. C. Proud, The South Eastern Districts of South Australia in 1880, Adelaide, 1881, pp.10, 15, 16, 21-23; Border Watch, 14 March 1883, p.3.
31. Buxton, Land Acts, sets out the provisions of the South Australian legislation. For N.S.W. and Victoria see S. H. Roberts, History of Australian Land Settlement, Melbourne, 1924, chaps. 19, 20, which should be supplemented by the Acts themselves: the important clauses of the Robertson Land Acts are reprinted in C. M. H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History, 1851-1900, Sydney, 1955, pp.117-124, and the relevant Victorian Acts are 1862, No.145, 1865, No.237, 1869, No.360.
32. R. M. Boeree, "Land Settlement on Eyre Peninsula", Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1964, pp.30-35. A table on p.180 of E. Dunsdorfs, The Australian Wheat-Growing Industry, 1788-1948, Melbourne, 1956 shows the growth of wheat acreage in the Eyre Peninsula Counties.
33. Act No.688 of 1897. Details on the purchase and development of the estates appear in the annual reports of the Surveyor General, printed in S.A.P.P.
34. See Dunsdorfs, Wheat Industry, p.181; R. W. Wilson, Land of Promise, The Story of the Pinnaroo Country, Pinnaroo, 1961.

35. This and subsequent judgements are based on an examination of pastoralists' biographies, the chief sources of which are R. Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia, Adelaide, 1925 and 1927, 2 volumes (which have some 230 entries), and N. A. Richardson, The Pioneers of the North-West of South Australia, 1856 to 1914, Adelaide, 1925. Compare N. G. Butlin's assessment of pastoralists' attitudes in the eastern colonies: "to many squatters, pastoral activity was not merely a business enterprise. It was a way of life ...", Investment in Australian Economic Development 1861-1900, Cambridge, 1964, p.86.
36. Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol. I, pp.54-55; G. E. Loyau, Notable South Australians, Adelaide, 1885, pp.28-30.
37. The following were among the pastoralists who moved to Adelaide. The date in bracket indicates the time of their arrival. These should be treated only as approximations. In many cases the date given is the year in which the person first appears as a resident of Adelaide in the Directories, which may well have lagged behind events.
- | | | | |
|---------------|--------|-----------------|----------|
| T. R. Bowman | (1891) | Samuel Mills | (1883) |
| John Crozier | (1867) | A. B. Murray | (c.1860) |
| D. Cudmore | (1862) | W. R. Mortlock | (1878) |
| J. F. Cudmore | (1880) | S. Newland | (1876) |
| J. J. Duncan | (1888) | H. S. Price | (1871) |
| G. A. Gebhart | (1889) | Ross Reid | (1873) |
| Thomas Giles | (1876) | G. Riddoch | (1888) |
| W. A. Horn | (1878) | Samuel Rogers | (1888) |
| H. B. Hughes | (1875) | T. W. Rogers | (1887) |
| J. B. Hughes | (1854) | W. B. Sells | (1878) |
| John Lewis | (1906) | F. W. Stokes | (1878) |
| James Love | (1878) | A. Tennant | (1875) |
| John Love | (1875) | Peter Waite | (1874) |
| Price Maurice | (1870) | John Williams | (1876) |
| James Melrose | (1897) | A. M. Wooldrige | (1882) |
38. S.A.P.P., 1891/33. The one resident pastoralist was Hogarth at Anna Creek (ibid., p.101).

39. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, pp.113-114.
40. Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol. I, pp.78-79; Samuel Davenport to his father, 22 Aug., 9 Sept. 1846, Correspondence of Mr. Samuel Davenport, 1842-1849, P.R.G.40.
41. Butlin, Investment in Australian Economic Development, pp.102, 103; S.A.P.P., 1883-4/148, p.17; Reports on freehold lands of 5,000 acres and more, S.A.A., Temp. Acc. 134, Vol. 2, pp.60-61.
42. S.A.P.P., 1883-4/148, p.8.
43. Ibid., p.4.
44. The brothers Henry and Frank Rymill acted as agents for the English proprietors of Canowie. See W. B. Sanders, William Sanders and Some Canowie History, Adelaide, 1944. In 1894 Frank Rymill became Chairman of Directors of the newly constituted Canowie Pastoral Company. In 1910 his nephew A. G. Rymill, son of Henry, became Managing Director (see Advertiser, 11 Sept. 1934, p.15).
45. Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol.I, pp.76-77.
46. Ibid., Vol. 2, pp.48-49; S.A.P.P., 1883-4/148, p.2; 1891/33, pp.62-66.
47. Main was a partner with Acraman, for whom, see note 46 above.
48. S.A.P.P., 1883-4/148, p.17.
49. Ibid., p.12; Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol. 1, pp.106-107.
50. S.A.P.P., 1883-4/148, p.24; 1891/33, pp.83-86; Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol. 1, pp.150-151.
51. S.A.P.P., 1891/33, pp.23-25.
52. Ibid., pp.43-48; Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol. 1, pp.194-195.
53. For the area of their South Australian leaseholds and the stock held on them, see S.A.P.P., 1883-4/148, pp.8,9, 21; 1884/99, pp.1, 2, 4, 5, 9. These returns allow their holdings to be compared with those of other stockholders. At this time the partners owned 15% of the sheep on the leasehold lands of the colony. Barr Smith also had land in the other colonies. For a map showing all their holdings, see Elder Smith, The First Hundred Years, p.30.

54. Butlin, Investment in Australian Economic Development, pp.108, 128, 130; A. Barnard, The Australian Wool Market, 1840-1900, Melbourne, 1958, pp.61-62; see also S. J. Stuckey, "Reminiscences of Samuel Joseph Stuckey", S.A.A., A1083.
55. Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol. 1, pp.30-33; Article, "Browne, William James and John Harris", Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 3, Melbourne, 1969, pp.270-271; Mincham, Flinders Ranges, p.95; "Reminiscences of J. F. Hayward", Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch, Vol.29, pp.79-170.
56. Amalgamated Shearers Union of Australasia, President's Address and Report of the 3rd Annual Conference, Newport, 1889, pp.8-9. For examples of the advertisements and reports of the labour agents in Adelaide, see Observer, 24 July 1875, p.8, 7 Aug. 1886, p.30, 18 Sept. 1886, p.20.
57. The other branches operating in Feb. 1889 were at Bourke, Cobar, Creswick, Moree, Wagga and Young.
58. Observer, 12 June 1880, p.971 comments on dispossessed squatters taking up land in the North-west.
59. Buxton, Land Acts, pp.20, 30, 45-49, 89.
60. The best account of South Eastern life is J. Murdoch and H. Parker, History of Naracoorte, Naracoorte, 1963, especially pp.13-16, 43-65, 133-145, 164. See also J. H. Sheppard, "History of Mount Gambier and the South East District", S.A.A. 1364, pp.180-193; E. Johnstone and C. Hill, Mount Gambier - The Garden of the State, Mount Gambier, 1926, pp.17-23; S. J. Way to A. S. Way, 31 Oct. 1899, P.R.G. 30/5/5, p.362.
61. F.D.C. De L'Isle, The Adelaide Polo Club - Its History, Adelaide, 1913, pp.13, 35, 43; Chronicle, 26 Nov. 1936, p.47.
62. Back to Burra, Official Souvenir, Burra, 1925, pp.17, 54, 56; Observer, 18 Oct. 1890, p.29. (A. McCulloch); Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol.2, pp.68-69; Garden and Field, Our Pastoral Industry, Adelaide, 1910, p.258 (A. Gebhart and sons).
63. Wirrabara was owned by A. B. Murray and Booyoollee by H. B. Hughes.
64. Pioneers Association of South Australia, Pioneers' Association visit to Martindale Hall, Adelaide, n.d.
65. Observer, 5 Aug. 1882, p.18; De L'Isle, Adelaide Polo Club, pp.18, 32, 33, 36, 42, 43.

66. Adelaide Hunt Club, Newspaper Cuttings, S.A.A. 1418, Vol. 3, 6 Aug. 1898.
67. As well as the diaries and reminiscences of farmers and farming families referred to below, I have consulted the collections of brief biographies which appear in H. T. Burgess, The Cyclopedia of South Australia, Adelaide, 1907 and 1909, 2 vols.; W. F. Morrison, The Aldine History of South Australia, Adelaide, 1890, 2 vols.
68. Information taken for the first six months of 1871 and 1875 from Credit Books, Nos.1 and 4, held by the South Australian Department of Lands.
69. Successful applicants for these lands were listed in the Government Gazette. See, for example, 21 March 1907, pp.661-665, 25 April 1907, pp.821-822, 13 Nov. 1913, pp.1451-1452.
70. Observer, 5 Sept. 1908, p.47.
71. Alfred March, "Pioneering Experiences of Joseph March and Descendants, 1846-1880", S.A.A. D.2960 (L), pp.11-12.
72. Wilson, The Story of the Pinnaroo Country, p.15; Journal of Agriculture, Vol.VIII (1904-05), p.2933, Vol.XII (1908-09), pp.173, 312.
73. Observer, 30 March 1878, p.9.
74. March, "Pioneering Experiences", pp.12-18; Henry Pitcher, Farm Journal, S.A.A. D.3192 (L), 8 Jan. to 27 Dec. 1873. See also Presbyterian Banner, Aug.1932, p.1. For other examples of the gradual transfer of a family to a new farm, see W. Gray (ed.), "Autobiography of the late Hugh McCallum", Proceedings of the Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch, Vol.XXXI (1929-30), pp.37-69; and M. R. Casson, "Loxton, The Creating of a District and a Town", P.R.G.28, chap.3. In these cases the children were the pioneers.
75. Government Gazette, 14 July 1870, Supplement, p.i.
76. Dunsdorfs, The Australian Wheat Industry, pp.115, 175-177.
77. Buxton, Land Acts, pp.11, 60.
78. S.A.P.P. 1881/74. Summary Tables.
79. Farmers Messenger, 11 April 1874, p.11; S.A.P.P., 1877/102, q.1755.

80. Farmers Messenger, 29 May 1874, p.5, 18 Dec. 1874, p.6;
G. Sutherland, Our Inheritance in the Hills, Adelaide, 1889,
pp.10, 12, 16, 32, 33, 50.
81. See above footnote 69; and Casson, "Loxton", chap. 3.
82. For examples of the latter practice see L. Coleman, "History of
the May Family", pp.16-19, Typescript included in May Family
Papers, P.R.G.131; and Peter Anderson, Farm Journal and Diary,
B.R.G.20, 8 June 1873, 7 Sept., 2 Nov., 1 Dec. 1874, 23 Nov. to
4 Dec. 1875, 3 March, 31 July, 6 Sept., 6-8 Dec. 1877, 26 Feb.,
15 March 1878.
83. J. Venning, The Venning Family, Pinnaroo, 1958; C. Venning, "The
Venning Pioneering History Part II", Typescript, 1960, in possession
of the family. The late Mr. Max Venning of Hyde Park and Mr. Albert
Venning of Grange gave me additional information about their family.
84. South Australian farmers were also scattered throughout the agri-
cultural areas of the other colonies. In the "Memoirs of Anna Ey",
S.A.A.D.3846 (L), Mrs. Ey, the wife of a Lutheran pastor at Lobe-
thal, tells of her visits to her children who were farming at
Rosenthal, Edithburg, and Dimboola (Victoria). See pp.124, 130-1,
135, 140-1. For some account of the movement of farmers to the
other colonies see G. L. Buxton, The Riverina 1861-1891, Melbourne,
1967, pp.196-199; Journal of Agriculture, Vol.VIII (1904-1905),
pp.541, 689, 696, Vol.XIII (1909-10), p.214; Dunsdorfs, Wheat
Industry, 158-159.
85. For farmers' acceptance of retirement as the fitting end to a
success story, see Journal of Agriculture, Vol.XIV (1910-11), p.275,
and for criticism of this attitude, see ibid., Vols.XIV (1910-11),
pp.780-1, XVI (1912-13), pp.1137-8.
86. Newspaper Cuttings, S.A.A. Vol. 1, p.19; Morrison, Aldine History,
Vol. 2, p.614.
87. S.A.P.P., 1890/60, p.16; Journal of Agriculture, Vol.IV (1900-01),
p.208; Sutherland, Our Inheritance in the Hills, p.13.
88. For an example of a farmer who improved to sell, see Newspaper
Cuttings, S.A.A. Vol.2, p.168. For the increase in land values,
see S. J. Way to A. S. Way, 10 Feb. 1910. P.R.G.30/5/14, p.364.
89. For the prevalence of retired farmers in Adelaide, see Observer,
31 March 1906, p.48; S. J. Way to G. R. Parkin, 24 Jan. 1911,
P.R.G.30/5/15, pp.207, 208; S.A.P.P., 1921/26, p.vi.
90. Adelaide's position as a medical centre is discussed below,
pp.66-67.

NOTES PART I, SECTION 3

1. E. Dunsdorfs, The Australian Wheat Growing Industry, 1788-1948, Melbourne, 1956, p.99.
2. Until 1884 the quarterly Customs Returns published each year in S.A.P.P. give details of the goods shipped at each port. The figures quoted have been compiled for the period October to September 1870-1871, and 1880-1881. After 1884 the main changes in the distribution of wheat acreage were the retreat from the North and the opening up of the Murray Mallee and Eyre Peninsula. The first two developments would have increased the proportion of wheat going to Adelaide, the third, the proportion to the outports. Wheat export figures for the 1911 and 1912 harvests appear in the Observer, 20 Dec. 1913, p.6. In these years Port Adelaide handled 44% and 43% of overseas exports.
3. For an account of the new railways, ports, and shipping places, see D. W. Meinig, On the Margins of the Good Earth, the South Australian Wheat Frontier, 1869-1884, London, 1963, chap.VII. The building of these railways is discussed below, pp.192-206.
4. The phrase is Meinig's, Margins of the Good Earth, pp.131-135.
5. For accounts of the business of individual merchants in the new areas see, on Dunn, E.F.L. H[ill], The Staff of Life and a Sketch of the Career of John Dunn, Adelaide, 1883, pp.48-52; T. Harry, Transport of Wheat in South Australia, Adelaide, 1880, end-paper advertisement for John Dunn and Co. For Darling see H. M. Franklyn, A Glance at Australia in 1880, Melbourne, 1881, pp.391-392.

For the conduct of the trade at the various ports, see:-

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| Edithburg: | <u>Farmers Messenger</u> , 5 June 1874, p.11; <u>Wallaroo Times</u> , 13 March 1875. |
| Port Augusta: | <u>Observer</u> , 5 June 1880, p.934; <u>S.A.P.P.</u> , 1881/27, qq.1426, 1429. |
| Port Broughton: | <u>S.A.P.P.</u> , 1873/141, qq.636, 679, 680; <u>Farmers Messenger</u> , 11 Dec. 1874, p.5. |
| Port Germein: | <u>S.A.P.P.</u> , 1881/27, pp.22-23. |
| Port Pirie: | R. J. R. Donley, "From Wheat Port to Industrial Town - A History of Port Pirie, 1873-1896", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1965, pp.2, 36-37; <u>S.A.P.P.</u> , 1873/141, qq.347, 348, 1881/27, p.135; <u>Observer</u> , 29 September 1906, p.42. |
| Port Rickaby: | John Dunn and Co. to Commissioner of Crown Lands. G.R.G. 35/1/1877/1412. |
| Wallaroo: | <u>Wallaroo Times</u> , 2, 5, 9, 26 Jan., 17, 31 Dec. 1884. The Wallaroo merchant J. Styles seems to have been the only local merchant to survive for any time. |

Duffield and Co., the Gawler based firm, was absorbed into the Adelaide Milling and Mercantile Co.Ltd. in 1882.

6. The Statistical Registers - Interchange provide these details. See also Dunsdorfs, Wheat Industry, pp.167-168. In 1871 John Darling, the leading wheat merchant, visited Britain to lay the foundations of his large export business, see Observer, 15 April 1905, p.35. John Dunn, merchant and miller, visited Britain in 1872 presumably for the same purpose, see Mount Barker Courier, 19 Aug. 1887, p.4.
7. G. M. Messner, "The Formation and Early History of the South Australian Farmers' Co-operative Union Limited", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1964, pp.24, 43-46; S.A.P.P., 1908/20, pp.88-89; S.A.P.P., 1909/23, pp.102-103. At p.108 of this last report there is a list of the nine merchants and millers who composed Adelaide's wheat-ring.
8. E. M. Dunn, "The History of Kingston S.E. and the Surrounding District", M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1967, pp.108-111.
9. E. Ward, The Southeastern District of South Australia, Its Resources and Requirements, Adelaide, 1869, p.25.
10. Southern Argus, 17 Sept. 1874, p.2, 31 Aug. 1876, p.2, 21 Aug. 1879, p.3, 23 Sept. 1880, pp.2-3; Port Augusta Dispatch, 28 Sept. 1878, p.1, 22 Aug. 1879, p.1; Port Augusta Diamond Jubilee Committee, Historical Souvenir of Port Augusta, Sixty Years of Progress, 1876-1936, Port Augusta, 1936, pp.49-51. For a brief time in the seventies a branch of the Victorian firm of McCullochs operated at Port Victor, see Boucaut Papers (Victor Harbour) S.A.A. 100, Letters from G. Fergusson, Nos. 3, 27-41, 43.
11. See Appendix VIII.
12. Port Augusta Dispatch, 8 March 1912, p.2; S.A.P.P., 1912/55, qq.170, 193.
13. See Appendix VIII.
14. For Port Victor's share of the Murray trade, 1868-1902, see Appendix IX.
15. The offices of A. H. Landseer have been traced in the South Australian Directories.
16. After 1884 commodity figures for exports at each port are no longer available. The only figures given in the Statistical Registers are for the total value of trade at each port. If it is assumed that

all exports from Pt. Victor were wool, then the value of its export trade expressed as a percentage of the total value of all wool exported from South Australia will give a figure for the proportion of wool exported from Pt. Victor. For the years 1894-1903 it is 4%. No figures are available for 1904-1908. Between 1909 and 1916 Pt. Victor's share of wool exports was 1.3%.

17. See pp.219-225.
18. See Appendix VIII.
19. In estimating the amount of wool exported from South Eastern ports after 1884, when the Customs commodity figures for each port cease, I have used the Statistical Register figures on inter-colony and interstate trade. I have assumed that South Eastern wool exports will equal the amount of South Australian wool exported to Victoria. In the last ten years for which figures on interstate trade are available (1900-1909), the amount of wool exported to Victoria represented 14% of total wool exports. The figure for 1870-1884 was 15.6%, see Appendix VIII.
20. See below, pp.215-216.
21. A. Barnard, The Australian Wool Market, 1840-1900, Melbourne, 1958, chap.7; Observer, 6 Feb. 1904, p.13, 15 Feb. 1913, p.14.
22. Port Adelaide's percentage of the total declared value of imports (to the seaports of the colony only) was in 1875 96%, 1880 94%, 1885 93%, 1890 91%, 1900 91%, 1903 94%, 1909 95%. Figures derived from S.A.P.P. Quarterly Customs Returns until 1884, then Statistical Registers - Interchange.
23. See Customs Returns, S.A.P.P., 1870-1884.
24. Ship movements have been followed in Index to Ships arriving at South Australian Ports from Overseas, 1836-1900, S.A.A. 908; Port Augusta Shipping Register, S.A.A. 516; Port Pirie Shipping Register, S.A.A. 1371, 1372.
25. S.A.P.P., 1877/102, qq.1619-1621.
26. See e.g. Port Augusta Dispatch, 22 Aug. 1879, p.1.
27. The papers of D. and J. Fowler (B.R.G. 14) record the connections between an Adelaide importer and wholesaler and the country store-keepers. See in particular, series 14, 15, 24.
28. Observer, 27 Nov. 1886, p.43.

29. Minutes of Meetings of the Commercial Travellers Association of South Australia, consulted at its office in Adelaide. See, for a summary of its activities, Minutes, 26 Nov. 1887.
30. S. S. Penola, Manifest Book, 1872-73, S.A.A.1278.
31. Ward, The Southeastern Districts, p.26.
32. S.A.P.D., 1870, col.717.
33. Statistical Registers - Production.
34. D. J. Gordon, Shall We Hold the South East, A Question for Electors, Adelaide, 1902, pp.29-31.
35. See Report on Freehold Lands of 5,000 acres and more, S.A.A. Temp. Acc.134.
36. A. J. Hannan, The Life of Chief Justice Way, Sydney, 1960, p.220; S. J. Way to J. P. Boucaut, 5 July 1909, P.R.G. 30/5/13, p.39.
37. S.A.P.P., 1875/22, p.lix.
38. Department of Lands, Grant Books, various Counties.
39. S.A.P.P., 1865/88.
40. S.A.P.P., 1882/45, 158; S.A.P.P., 1881/27, q.1449; Donley, "History of Port Pirie", pp.36-37, Figure 6b; Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol.1, pp.76-77. For the Port Pirie North and Port Augusta Land Companies, see Chronicle, 25 Feb. 1882, p.10, 27 May 1882, pp.4, 9, 22, 3 June 1882, p.14.
41. Blainey, Gold and Paper, Melbourne, 1958, pp.53-55, 115-117; S. J. Butlin, Australia and New Zealand Bank, Melbourne, 1961, pp.207-208, 267.
42. K. R. Bowes, Land Settlement in South Australia, 1857-1890, Adelaide, 1968, pp.226-227.
43. A survey of the Land Tax Assessment Returns, 1885, G.R.G.21/1, reveals the prevalence of Adelaide mortgagees. See also Giles and Smith, Mortgage Register, included in Records of John Wyles and Co., B.R.G. 45. Bowes Land Settlement, pp.225-226 notes that lands in and around Adelaide became the chief area for speculation in the seventies.

44. Unless otherwise stated, the statistics on individual industrial establishments which follow are taken from the Statistical Registers - Production.
45. H. R. Pearce, "The Economic Development of Brewing in South Australia in the nineteenth century", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1957, p.122.
46. Records of the South Australian Brewing Co.Ltd., lodged at Companies Office, Adelaide, 1888/31.
47. Pearce, "Development of Brewing", pp.69, 95, 132.
48. For these years the Statistical Register was still listing numbers employed in the various industries.
49. H[ill], Career of John Dunn, pp.48-50; Records of the Adelaide Milling and Mercantile Co.Ltd., G.R.G.1/C.B./3/1882/24; Records of the Adelaide Milling Co. (which bought out the first company), Companies Office, Adelaide, 1889/40.
50. Ibid.
51. J. H. Mellor, Joseph Mellor, His Ancestors and Descendants, Adelaide, 1947; Chronicle, 14 Oct. 1871, p.7; S.A.P.P. 1891/153, p.231; Labor Advocate, 8 Dec. 1877, p.6.
52. The three main country companies were Shearers of Mannum, which opened a factory in Adelaide in 1904 (H. T. Burgess, Cyclopedia of South Australia, Adelaide, 1909, Vol.2, pp.230-231, 920), S.A.P.P., 1916/23, qq.386, 392), Smiths at Ardrossan, (Burgess, Cyclopedia, Vol.2, pp.654-655), and Forgans of Crystal Brook (Laura Standard, 27 Jan. 1910).
53. E. H. Coombe, History of Gawler 1837 to 1908, Adelaide, 1910, pp.97, 288; M. Williams, "Gawler: The Changing Geography of a South Australian Country Town", Australian Geographer, Vol.IX (1964), pp.198, 199, 201; Mail, 21 July 1928, p.11; Daily Herald, 30 Sept. 1910, p.4.
54. See H. Hughes, "Federalism and Industrial Development in Australia", Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol.X (1964), p.327.
55. Burgess, Cyclopedia of South Australia, Vol.2, pp.282, 286-287, 867-870.
56. For an account of the development of the telegraph, see S.A.P.P., 1884/191.

57. For its use in the wheat trade, see Meinig, Margins of the Good Earth, p.197; S.A.P.P., 1908/20, q.2364, 1909/23, q.10840; and in the supply of goods from Adelaide, D and J. Fowler, Letters Received, 1884-1888 (includes telegrams), B.R.G. 14/24.

NOTES PART I, SECTION 4

1. See D. W. Meinig, On the Margins of the Good Earth, The South Australian Wheat Frontier, 1869-1884, London, 1963, p.160.
2. See Chronicle, 4 Oct. 1873, p.7; Wallaroo Times, 17 March 1875; Observer, 27 Nov. 1886, p.43.
3. Daily Herald, 13 Sept. 1913, p.4.
4. Observer, 2 Oct. 1880, p.569, 9 Oct. 1880, p.611; Jamestown Review, 23, 30 Oct. 1879.
5. S.A.P.P., 1875/77, Report, p.iv, Appendix, pp.xiii-xiv.
6. Henry Pitcher, Farm Journal, S.A.A. D 3192 (L), 19 Oct. - 4 Nov. 1874, 14-18 July 1879, 31 May - 9 June 1892.
7. Observer, 2 Sept. 1871, p.4.
8. Ibid., 23 Sept. 1905, p.43, 22 Sept. 1906, p.45.
9. Ibid., 19 Sept. 1908, p.44.
10. S.A.P.D., 1914, pp.454-455.
11. For the monster deputation on the rabbit nuisance, see Observer, 24 Aug. 1878, p.6.
12. These organisations will be discussed in Part II.
13. Herald, 25 Sept. 1909, p.11.
14. S.A.P.P., 1875/77, Appendix, p.xiv.
15. Government Gazette, 24 Feb. 1870, p.189, 29 Feb. 1872, p.266, 20 April 1876, p.734.
16. S.A.P.P., 1883-4/222.
17. See Children's Hour, Class 3, Vol. I (Aug. 1895), p.21, Vol.II (July 1896), p.112; A. Ey, "Memoirs of Anna Ey", S.A.A. D 3846 (L), p.120.
18. S. R. Whitford, Autobiography, S.A.A. D 3627 (L), pp.78, 115-116, 126, 143; E. Mankey, Reminiscences, S.A.A. D 3845 (L), p.10.
19. Kapunda Herald, 9 March 1875.

20. Pinnaroo Country News, 24 Feb. 1911, p.5.
21. Daily Herald, 12 Sept. 1913, p.2.
22. Record of Patients, Adelaide Hospital, held by Royal Adelaide Hospital.
23. Ibid., and see e.g., S.A.P.P., 1868-9/95.
24. The Annual Estimates in S.A.P.P. indicate the extent of government support for hospitals. The pamphlet histories of country towns held by S.A.A. usually contain accounts of the foundation of the hospital.
25. Observer, 26 June 1880, p.1056.
26. From 1908 the Statistical Registers list all public hospitals, the number of their staff, and the number of patients treated.
27. Whitford, Autobiography, pp.89, 124-125; Ey, Memoirs, pp.74, 103; Alfred March, "Pioneering Experiences of Joseph March and descendants", S.A.A. D 2960 (L), pp.26-34; Pitcher, Farm Journal, 3 June 1892; P. Anderson, Farm journal and diary, B.R.G. 20, 27 Sept. 1878, 5 July 1879.
28. R. J. Nicholas, "Private and Denominational Secondary Schools of South Australia: their growth and development", M.Ed. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1953, (S.A.A. 1489), pp.94-98, 99-103, 238-240, 342-343; Agriculturist and Review (Jamestown), 28 Dec. 1881, p.3, 11 Jan. 1882, p.2; Observer, 24 Dec. 1892, p.36; Border Watch, 23 Dec. 1871, p.2, 3 May 1873, p.2, 18 June 1873, p.2, 23 July 1873, p.2, 30 Sept. 1882, p.2.
29. Council of Education, Minutes, G.R.G.50/1, 10 Jan. 1876, 17 Jan. 1876; S.A.P.P., 1881/122, qq.1277, 2631-3, 1882/27, qq.3652-5, 1883-4/27A, qq.7456, 7948.
30. S.A.P.P., 1883-4/27A, qq.7445.
31. For dates of opening of country high schools, see S.A.P.P., 1915/44, p.9.
32. Scholarships tenable at any high school were offered to primary school pupils. Country winners of these frequently went to Adelaide rather than to the nearest district high school. For the scholarship scheme, see S.A.P.P., 1910/44, p.10. Scholarship winners are listed in the annual reports of the Education Department in S.A.P.P.

33. S.A.P.P., 1876/21, Regulations 142-162.
34. S.A.P.P., 1899/44, p.9, 1902/44, p.9.
35. S.A.P.P., 1910/44, p.10.
36. S.A.P.P., 1881/122, qq.1546, 1576, 1717, 1824, 1889/44, pp.ix, 25-26, 1900/44, p.10, 1901/44, Appendix E: House of Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1899, pp.11-12.

NOTES PART I, SECTION 5

1. See the comment of the Areas Express (Gladstone), 16 Feb. 1881, p.2, "At present there is a striking absence in this country of that great class of country residents who claim a full share in influencing the politics of the nation at home ... Mr Tennant ... like all the rest of the great world lives near the city".
2. Marriages in the seventies and eighties have been traced in the volumes of newspaper cuttings collected by Dr. Charles Davies and held at S.A.A.
3. See above, pp.33-34.
4. R. Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia, Adelaide, 1925 and 1927, 2 Vols., usually lists the directorships held by his subjects. Advertisements in the Directories also provide information on these.
5. Advertiser, 10 Dec. 1965, p.10 lists directors.
6. S.A.P.P., 1899/110, lists the largest city property holders. Their holdings in 1885 were checked in the Land Tax Assessment returns, 1885, G.R.G.21/1.
7. Register, 27 Dec. 1922, p.7.
8. G. C. Hawker to Edward Hawker, S.A.A., D 2622 (L), 17 Jan. 1891, 1 Aug. 1892.
9. Memoirs of Simpson Newland, Adelaide, 1926, p.158.
10. Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol.2, p.41.
11. Register, 31 Aug. 1910, p.6.
12. H. T. Burgess, Cyclopedia of South Australia, Adelaide, 1907, Vol.1, pp.571-572.
13. Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol.1, p.179.
14. See above pp.21-22, 33-34.
15. Newspaper Cuttings, S.A.A. Vol.3, pp.114-117; and see above note 5.
16. Membership of Society has been determined by the attendance at Society functions such as meetings of the Hunt, Polo, and Archery Clubs, which were reported in the Press; by the names appearing in the diary of E. W. Hawker, S.A.A., D 2616 (L) and the Reminiscences

of Annie J. Duncan, Vol.1, S.A.A., 1337; and by membership of the Adelaide Club, a full list of which is printed in E. J. R. Morgan, The Adelaide Club, 1863-1963, Adelaide, 1963.

17. Morgan, Adelaide Club, p.12. The most notable wealthy men who were not members of Society were the stricter non-conformists, John Darling, John Colton, and G. S. Fowler.
18. See pp.35-37.
19. Between January 1947 and December 1953 the monthly journal South Australian Homes and Gardens published a series of articles written by Eric Gunton on Adelaide's "stately homes". This is an invaluable guide to the history of scores of houses and their occupants. Upon it, this and other general statements about housing are based.
20. Homes and Gardens, Feb. 1950, pp.44-45.
21. Ibid., April 1947, pp.34-35.
22. This process has been followed in the Directories and the collections of photographs of the city at S.A.A.
23. For the condition of Adelaide in 1870, see the Duryea Panorama of Adelaide, a series of photographs taken from the G.P.O. tower in 1870, S.A.A.B. 16004.
24. For good accounts of the villages, see T. Gill, The History and Topography of Glen Osmond, Adelaide, 1905; M. Hardy, "A History of the Woodville District to 1874", S.A.A. 1395; W. A. Norman, The History of the City of Mitcham, Mitcham, 1953; Burnside City Corporation, The First Hundred Years, A History of Burnside in South Australia, Adelaide, 1956, Ed. by D. Coleman.
25. Homes and Gardens, Nov. 1951, pp.36-37.
26. Ibid., Sept. 1947, pp.42-43.
27. Ibid., Aug. 1949, pp.26-27.
28. Ibid., May 1952, pp.32-33.
29. Ibid., July 1951, pp.36-37.
30. Elder Smith, The First Hundred Years, pp.37-38.
31. Memoirs of Simpson Newland, pp.ix, 135-136, 160-162; Homes and Gardens, March 1949, pp.26-27.

32. Observer, 11 Jan. 1873, p.10, 21 Aug. 1880, pp.298-299; Farmers Messenger, 16 Oct. 1874, pp.6-7; Homes and Gardens, Jan. 1947, pp.24-25.
33. Homes and Gardens, Oct. 1953, pp.32-33; Memorandum on Torrens Park, dated 28 April 1864, (? written by Torrens' Adelaide agent), included in Letters written from England by Sir R. R. Torrens to his South Australian agents, S.A.A. 1263/4; Observer, 24 July 1875, p.9, 17 Sept. 1892, p.8.
34. For accounts of these see Mail, 19 May 1923, p.13; E. W. Hawker, Diary, 22, 30 July, 1877; Observer, 27 Aug. 1892, p.8.
35. The size of properties has been determined from the first (1885) Land Tax Assessment Returns, G.R.G. 21/1.
36. This is a provisional list of these suburbs: Ashford, Erindale, Everard Park, Glanville, Glynde, Hazelwood Park, Linden Park, Myrtle Bank, Murray Park, Netherby, Oaklands, Paringa Park, Ridge Park, Rostrevor, Rosefield, Seacombe Gardens, Springfield, Sunnyside, Torrens Park, Tranmere, Urrbrae.
37. Hardy, "History of Woodville", pp.15-24, 150.
38. Norman, History of Mitcham, pp.131, 198.
39. Register, 22 Nov. 1915, p.7.
40. Burnside Corporation, The First Hundred Years, pp.56-57.
41. Gill, Glen Osmond, pp.35-39.
42. Ibid., pp.49-50.
43. Homes and Gardens, Aug. 1950, pp.44-45; Register, 22 May 1877, p.4.
44. Register, 3 July 1858, p.3.
45. Magill Institute, Minutes of Meetings 1882-1919, S.A.A. 1310, 4 Sept., 12 Oct. 1882.
46. For accounts of churches and their leading members, see Gill, Glen Osmond, pp.51-61; Hardy, "History of Woodville", pp.76-77, 82-83; South Australian Churches, Newspaper Cuttings, S.A.A. 853, Vol. 1, pp.26-27 (St. Andrew's), 43-44 (Clayton Congregational, Kensington), 49-50 (St. Matthew's), 52-53 (St. Michael's), 64-65 (St. George's), 71-72 (St. Saviour's).

47. See above note 19.
48. Morgan, Adelaide Club, chaps. I, II, III.
49. See Adelaide Hunt Club, 4 volumes of newspaper cuttings, S.A.A. 1418. Vol.I includes a list of the Presidents and Masters from 1869 to 1924.
50. Observer, 17 April 1880, p.639; Newspaper Cuttings, S.A.A., Vol.1, p.281 (the foundation date is misprinted here as 1859).
51. Register, 15 July 1873, p.15, 28 March 1874, p.13, 12 Aug. 1874, p.12, 7 Nov. 1874, p.13; Observer, 27 May 1876, p.5.
52. E. W. Hawker, Diary, 7 Aug. 1875; Observer, 18 Sept. 1875, p.7, 27 May 1876, p.14.
53. F. D. C. De L'Isle, The Adelaide Polo Club, Its History, Adelaide, 1913, p.13.
54. See Way's comment, "Scarcely anybody is in town but our unfortunate selves", when a pile of legal arrears kept him at his desk in January, S. J. Way to Mrs Brett, 20 Jan. 1908, P.R.G. 30/5/12, p.43.
55. For description of the watering places see Register, 11 Dec. 1867, p.2; and Burgess, Cyclopedia of South Australia, Vol.2, pp.197-198. For Society life at Pt. Elliott see E. W. Hawker, Diary, 4 Jan. to 7 April 1877.
56. De L'Isle, Adelaide Polo Club, pp.14-21.
57. Annie Duncan, Reminiscences, Vol.1, p.124; E. W. Hawker, Diary, 22 Sept. 1876; Observer, 25 Sept. 1880, p.531.
58. Observer, 16 July 1892, p.8.
59. Annie Duncan, Reminiscences, Vol.1, and E. W. Hawker, Diary, give good accounts of the Seasons of the seventies and eighties.
60. The account which follows is based on the four volumes of newspaper cuttings on the Adelaide Hunt Club, S.A.A. 1418.
61. Ibid., Vol.1, cutting dated 24 June 1882.
62. For a servant's account of a Hunt Club luncheon, see Anon, [H. W. Nesfield] A Chequered Career: or, Fifteen Years in Australia and New Zealand, London, 1881, pp.280-287.

63. Hunt Club newspaper cuttings, Vol.3, 17 June 1899.
64. Ibid., Vol.2, 7 June 1894, Vol.3, 28 July 1900; Observer, 3 July 1880, p.14.
65. For one of the more notable accidents, see G. O'Collins, Patrick McMahon Glynn, Melbourne, 1965, pp.84-85.
66. Hunt Club newspaper cuttings, Vol.2, 2 July 1894 and first entry for 1895.
67. Observer, 2 Oct. 1875, p.5. The Polo Club also conducted an annual race meeting at Morphetville, see Register, 11 May 1885, p.7.
68. Hunt Club newspaper cuttings, Vol.2, 6 Aug. 1892.
69. Ibid., Vol.1, 9 June 1883, 11 July 1885; Observer, 28 Aug. 1880, p.346.
70. This is the major theme in Margaret Kiddle, Men of Yesterday, A Social History of the Western District of Victoria 1834-1890, Melbourne, 1961. For New South Wales see P. Loveday and A. W. Martin, Parliament Factions and Parties, Melbourne, 1966, p.16; A. Birch and D. S. Macmillan, The Sydney Scene, Melbourne, 1962, p.95; Brian Dickey (ed.), Politics in New South Wales 1856-1900, Melbourne, 1969, pp.1-2.
71. See W. R. C. Jaques, The Impact of the Gold Rushes on South Australia, 1852-1854, B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1963.
72. Compare D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, South Australia 1829-1857, Melbourne, 1957, pp.462-480, with J. M. Main, "Making Constitutions in New South Wales and Victoria, 1853-1854", Historical Studies, Vol.7 (1957), pp.369-386. Pike offers no reason for the liberality of the South Australian constitution as compared with those of Victoria and New South Wales. The suggestions which follow are my own.
73. See above, pp.22-23.
74. See Loveday and Martin, Parliament Factions and Parties, pp.10-26; G. Serle, The Golden Age, A History of the Colony of Victoria 1851-1861, Melbourne, 1963, chap.9.
75. See above pp.22-25.

76. For some examples, see S. R. Parr, "Ayers, Sir Henry" in Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.3, Melbourne, 1969, p.64; Register, 27 Dec. 1919, pp.7, 10, for E. T. Smith; Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers, Vol.1, p.15, for G. C. Hawker; ibid., p.79, for Samuel Davenport; A. Hay, Footprints, A Memoir of the Late Alexander Hay, London, 1899, p.106; Newspaper Cuttings, S.A.A., Vol.1, 150-153, for Simpson Newland; A. J. Hannan, The Life of Chief Justice Way, Sydney, 1960, pp.103-109.
77. Elder Smith, The First Hundred Years, pp.64-67.
78. Register, 19 Jan. 1910, pp.6, 7.
79. Daily Herald, 22 Nov. 1915, p.3; Elder Smith, The First Hundred Years, pp.60-61; Register, 22 Nov. 1915, pp.5, 7.
80. Elder Smith, The First Hundred Years, pp.57-59; Observer, 13 March 1897, pp.25, 41; Adelaide City Council, Adelaide, the Capital City of South Australia, the Central State of Australia, Adelaide, 1914, p.23.
81. The account which follows is based on W. M. Hugo, History of the First Bushmen's Club in the Australian Colonies, Established at Adelaide, South Australia, Adelaide, 1872.
82. Register, 31 Dec. 1868, p.3.
83. Observer, 21 May 1870, pp.3, 5. The original proposal was to open the Club at the Burra, away from the temptations of Adelaide, but the bushmen were so opposed to this that the plan was abandoned.
84. Register, 5 Jan. 1869, p.3.
85. Hugo, Bushmen's Club, p.349.
86. Register, 30 April 1878, p.6.
87. The following is a list of Councillors who were clearly members of Society; Ayers, J. Baker, R. C. Baker, Crozier, Elder, W. Everard, Hay, Kent Hughes, Milne Morgan, A. B. Murray, H. Scott, A. Stow, Tomkinson, C. B. Young.
88. Act No.236 of 1881 reduced the term of office and divided the colony into four districts for the election of the Council. The first district elections were held in 1884-1885.
89. Compare Max Crawford, An Australian Perspective, Melbourne, 1960, p.21: "But their [the pastoralists] role in politics remained merely defensive ..."

90. Australian Star, 21 Aug. 1880, p.6.
91. Letters of G. C. Hawker to his son E. W. Hawker, S.A.A. D. 2622 (L).
92. Ibid., 1 Jan., 5, 15, 30 March, 12 April, 1890; 15 Oct. 1892.
93. Ibid., 19 April, 1893.
94. Ibid., 15 Oct. 1892.
95. Ibid., 1 Aug. 1892.
96. Ibid., 17 April, 21 June 1893.
97. Barwell who was Premier from 1920 to 1924 became a member during his term of office.
98. See A. P. Walker, The Adelaide Hospital in its Relations with Government, 1837-1900, B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1960, chap.V; and for the attack on lawyers (and the University), see S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1896, pp.725-731.
99. These and other political developments mentioned in this paragraph are fully discussed in Part II.
100. De L'Isle, Adelaide Polo Club, p.45; Observer, 29 Nov. 1902, p.23.
101. S. J. Way to G. R. Parkin, 24 Jan. 1911, 19 Dec. 1911, P.R.G. 30/5/15, pp.208, 216-217.
102. S. J. Way to Lady Kintore, 3 Aug. 1898, P.R.G., 30/5/4, p.317; Advertiser, 22 Nov. 1915, p.10; Memoirs of Simpson Newland, p.204.
103. Homes and Gardens, April 1947, p.35; Nov. 1947, p.27.
104. See above note 19.

NOTES PART I, SECTION 6

1. See e.g. Farmers Messenger, 4 Dec. 1874, p.5, 14 Jan. 1876, p.8, 21 June 1878, p.2.
2. Garden and the Field, 10 Aug. 1875, p.1. The tone of the paper can be gauged from the following: "We have told you dozens of times about the advantages of tree planting ...", ibid., June 1881, p.9.
3. Gilbert Parker, Round the Compass in Australia, London, 1892, pp.160-168, 176-179.
4. H. G. Viney, A Century of Commerce in South Australia, Adelaide, 1936, pp.50-51; Garden and the Field, 1 April 1876, p.189, 1 July 1878, p.17, 1 Feb. 1879, p.137.
5. J. F. Conigrave, South Australian Manufactures and Industries, Adelaide, 1875, p.9. The Papers of Sir Samuel Davenport, P.R.G.40, include a prospectus of the Silk Association, newspaper cuttings on its activities, and a circular letter from its secretary dated 9 March 1871. For Davenport's paper on silk production read before the Chamber of Manufactures, see Government Gazette, 11 Sept. 1873, Supplement.
6. E. Ward, The South Eastern District of South Australia: Its Resources and Requirements, Adelaide, 1869, p.62.
7. Garden and the Field, 1 July 1876, p.20.
8. See the outburst of J. Carr, a member of the Assembly with farming experience: "He knew that there was scarcely a newspaper reporter in the land or a school master or a professional man, but who believed that he understood a great deal more about farming than men who had spent years of their lives on it". He went on to say that he had farmed scientifically in Yorkshire, but in South Australia he could not because manure was expensive, wages were high, and prices for his produce low. S.A.P.D., 1875, cols.1318-1319.
9. Parker, Round the Compass, pp.167, 178, 179.
10. Garden and the Field, May 1886, p.142; Farmers Messenger, 29 May 1874, p.4.
11. Garden and the Field, 2 Sept. 1878, p.51, 1 Oct. 1878, p.78, Oct. 1885, p.55.
12. See the paper read by G. Quinn, Journal of Agriculture, Vol.XVI (1912-13), pp.1137-1139.

13. Ibid., Vol.I (1897-8), p.891, IV (1900-01), pp.657, 1029, V (1901-02), p.387. See also note 11.
14. J. Grigg to Commissioner of Public Works and minute of Traffic Manager, G.R.G. 23/1/1888/237; S.A.P.P., 1875/22, p.113; S.A.P.D., 1874, col.1917; Jamestown Review, 21 March 1878, p.2; Northern Argus, 6 Oct. 1874, p.3.
15. Wallaroo Times, 26 February 1887, p.2.
16. Garden and the Field, 1 Feb. 1877, p.138.
17. Krichauff summarises all the benefits of trees in Journal of Agriculture, Vol. II (1898-99), p.188. For the Garden and the Field, on the same topic see 1 Nov. 1875, p.97, 1 March 1879, pp.154-155.
18. S.A.P.D., 1872, col.2856, 1873, cols.1314-1316; S.A.P.P., 1873/5, p.12; Act No.26 of 1873.
19. S.A.P.D., 1875, cols.259-261, 310, 359, 417; Act No.8 of 1875.
20. C. Manhood, "Afforestation in South Australia", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1961, chap.1. Manhood criticises the policy of giving trees away as contributing nothing to afforestation (p.12), but Krichauff and others were not merely concerned with this; they wanted to beautify the countryside generally.
21. Meinig, Margins of the Good Earth, pp.71, 84, 91.
22. Observer, 22 June 1889, pp.25, 31-32.
23. T. Worsnop, History of the City of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1878, pp.374, 383; R.E.N. Twopenny, Town Life in Australia, London, 1883, p.29; Register, 28 Feb. 1874, p.10; S.A.P.P., 1887/46, p.21.
24. Journal of Agriculture, Vol.II (1898-99), p.188.
25. See e.g. Observer, 25 July 1891, p.10, 15 Aug. 1891, p.11.
26. For Schomburgk's interest in agricultural reform, see Government Gazette, 14 July 1870, Supplement, 29 Feb. 1872, pp.262-263.
27. S.A.P.P., 1875/77, Report.
28. Meinig, Margins of the Good Earth, pp.65-66; S.A.P.D., 1879, col.1005.
29. Observer, 28 June 1879, p.3; 5 July 1879, p.3.

30. S.A.P.D., 1879, cols.760-768, 1004-1009, 1318, 1322.
31. Observer, 28 May 1904, p.34. Article, "Custance, John Daniel", in Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.3, Melbourne, 1969, pp.511-512.
32. S.A.P.P., 1887/90, pp.vi, 46-49.
33. S.A.P.P., 1889/96.
34. Proceedings of the Congress are reported in the Journal of Agriculture, which commenced publication in 1897.
35. Garden and the Field, June 1881, pp.8-9, May 1885, p.185.
36. The Observer, 15 Sept. 1906, p.12, prints a useful Table showing the growth in the production of these and other products over the preceding twenty years.
37. Dunsdorfs, Wheat Industry, pp.142, 198-200; Journal of Agriculture, Vol.8 (1904-5), pp.141-143; article, "Lowrie, William" in The Australian Encyclopaedia, Sydney, 1965, Vol.5, p.381.
38. A. G. Price, The History and Problems of the Northern Territory, Australia, Adelaide, 1930, pp.15-24.
39. See e.g. Journal of Agriculture, Vol.XVII (1913-1914), pp.322-4; Observer, 23 May 1891, p.25, 3 Feb. 1894, p.15, 11 July 1903, p.12, 31 March 1906, p.48; Register, 2 Feb. 1914, p.10; Chronicle, 15 July 1905, pp.29-30; S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1896, p.395, 1913, pp.298, 589.
40. Journal of Agriculture, Vol.XVII (1913-14), p.323.
41. Children's Hour, 2nd Class, Vol.VIII (March 1909), pp.43-53.
42. S.A.P.P., 1911-12/44, p.24.
43. Herald, 14 Sept. 1901, p.10; Observer, 22 Sept. 1906, p.44.
44. Observer, 23 Sept. 1905, p.43.
45. For Adelaide's view of itself, see L. S. Curtis, Adelaide: the Queen City of the South, Adelaide, 1907; J. Feldheim, Adelaide Old and New, 1836-1913, Adelaide, 1913; Adelaide City Council, Adelaide, The Capital City of South Australia, The Central State of Australia, Adelaide, 1914.

46. H. J. Scott, South Australia in 1887, Adelaide, 1887, p.66.
47. S. J. Way to Lord Tennyson, 9 Jan. 1906, P.R.G., 30/5/10, p.324; Observer, 11 July 1903, p.12; Register, 2 Feb. 1914, p.10.
48. Children's Hour, 2nd Class, Vol.VIII (Oct. 1909), pp.182-5.
49. Children's Hour, 3rd Class, Vol.I (Aug. 1895), p.21.
50. The barrenness of the city's open spaces is made clear in Duryea's Panorama of the City of Adelaide, 1870, S.A.A.B. 16004.
51. See above note 23.
52. The improvement in the city's appearance can be followed in the S.A.A.'s photographic collection.
53. S. J. Way to Sir T. Fowell Buxton, 4 May 1909, P.R.G., 30/5/13, p.94. Way was particularly taken with General Booth's scheme to populate the Australian countryside from the English towns, see P.R.G., 30/5/9, p.14-15, 397-399. For the scheme itself, see S.A.P.P., 1905/77 and for its abandonment, Observer, 14 Oct. 1905, p.44.
54. P. F. Rowland, The New Nation, London, 1903, p.68; Observer, 27 July 1912, p.50; D. J. Gordon, Handbook of South Australia, Adelaide, 1908, pp.21-25.
55. Observer, 24 Sept. 1904, p.23, 15 Dec. 1906, Christmas Photographic Supplement; Chronicle, 15 Dec. 1906, Christmas Photographic Supplement.
56. Observer, 9 Jan. 1892, p.45.
57. Ibid., 7 Oct. 1899, p.35.
58. Observer, 24 Sept. 1904, p.23; May Vivienne, Sunny South Australia, Adelaide, 1912, p.33; Adelaide City Council, Adelaide the Capital City, title-page.
59. See F. J. Osborn, Preface, to Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow, London, Faber and Faber, 1946.
60. F. S. Henry, "The Garden Suburb", unpublished manuscript held at State Planning Office, Adelaide, chap.4, pp.3-4.
61. Ibid., chap.3, p.34.
62. Journal of Agriculture, Vol.II (1898-99), pp.1005-6; IV (1900-01), pp.36-37, 656-658, 930-931, 1028-1029; Vol.V (1901-02), pp.386-387;

- VI (1902-03), pp.144-5, 250-251; XIV (1910-11), pp.174-175, 1092, 1196-1197; XVI (1912-13, pp.615-616; XVII (1913-14), p.223.
63. See for examples, ibid., Vol.I (1897-98), pp.645, 748, 891; VI (1902-03), pp.135, 162-163, 477; XV (1911-12), pp.80, 98, 197-198, 440-441, 1199; XVII (1913-14), pp.185, 435, 985.
64. Ibid., Vol.IV (1900-01), p.1028.
65. Ibid., Vol.II (1898-99), p.1005.
66. Ibid., Vol.IV (1900-01), p.36.
67. Ibid., Vol.IV (1900-01), pp.153-154, 656-658, 930-931; V (1901-02), pp.386-387, 492-493.
68. B. D. Graham, The Formation of the Australian Country Parties, Canberra, 1966, pp.38-46.
69. Ibid., p.40.
70. Journal of Agriculture, Vol.IV (1900-01), pp.153-154, 656-658, V (1901-02), p.492, VIII (1904-5), pp.698-700.
71. R. Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, from Bryan to F.D.R., New York, 1955, p.82.
72. Australia, Its Land, Conditions and Prospects, The Observations and Experiences of the Scottish Agricultural Commission of 1910-11, London, 1911, p.236.
73. Ibid.; Graham, Formation of the Country Parties, p.44.

NOTES PART I, SECTION 7

1. See K. W. Robinson, "The Distinctive Character of Australian Urban Growth", in Reading on Urban Growth, Department of Geography, University of Sydney, 1963; S. Glynn, Urbanisation in Australian History, 1788-1900, Melbourne, 1970, pp.2-3.
2. I. D. McNaughton, "Colonial Liberalism, 1851-1892" in G. Greenwood (ed.) Australia: A Social and Political History, Sydney, 1955, p.109; Glynn, Urbanisation, p.34; N. G. Butlin, Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900, Cambridge, 1964, pp.293, 297. (The South Australian section of Butlin's railway map (p.325) contains several glaring inaccuracies).
3. See S.A.P.D. 1878 col. 942; Observer, 24 Feb. 1883, p.345, 29 Sept. 1906, p.42; L. S. Curtis, Adelaide, The Queen City of the South, Adelaide, 1907, p.135; P. M. Wells, Goolwa, The New Orleans of Australia, Goolwa, n.d.
4. See below pp.203, 215-225.
5. H. D. F. Kitto, The Greeks, (Penguin Books), chap. 5.
6. Lewis Mumford, The City in History, New York, 1961, p.66. See also Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities, translated by Frank D. Halsey, (Anchor Book), 1956, pp.105-107.
7. Alfred March, "Pioneering Experiences of Joseph March and descendants", S.A.A.D. 2960 (L) pp.31-34.
8. S. R. Whitford, "Autobiography", S.A.A. D3627 (L), p.124.
9. Worker (Sydney) 20 Aug. 1914, p.13.
10. Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities, London, 1963, p.69.

NOTES PART II, SECTION 1

1. Act No.444 of 1888.
2. For an account of railway building until 1887, see S.A.P.P., 1887/29. For a list of railway lines, their length, and date of opening, see S.A.P.P., 1909/47.
3. See Appendix X.
4. See below, pp.243-253.
5. For a chronicle of the ministries of the period see G.D. Combe, Responsible Government in South Australia, Adelaide, 1957. For Boucaut's lament on his exclusion from office, see S.A.P.D., 1876, cols.1068-1071.
6. A Table showing place of residence of members appears below, p.151.
7. Act No.27 of 1872.
8. The Directories and the S.A.A. Biographical Index have been used throughout for determining places of residence. In cases where these are inadequate, newspaper accounts of nominations, campaigns and results have been consulted. A Table showing the occupations of members of the House of Assembly from 1857 to 1890 is published in K.R. Bowes, Land Settlement in South Australia, 1857-1890, Adelaide, 1968, Appendix D, pp.286-287.
9. S.A.P.D., 1871, cols.441-442; Areas Express, 25 Aug. 1880, p.3; Farmers Messenger, 22 Jan. 1875, p.7; Port Augusta Dispatch, 20 April 1878, p.4.
10. S.A.P.D., 1872, cols.63-67, 711-717, S.A.P.D., 1873, cols.30-31.
11. A.P. Keain, "The Legislative Council of South Australia, 1857-1957", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1957, pp.116, 131-132.
12. Ibid., Appendix A carries brief biographies of all Council members from 1857 to 1957 and Appendix B has a Table showing their occupations.
13. There was no conscious effort to achieve this. The redistribution was concerned chiefly with rearranging country electorates and representation. The city acquired one extra member and the country, nine. The increase in the number of country seats was on this occasion in harmony with demographic change because in the sixties the country was growing more rapidly than Adelaide.

14. J.B. Stephenson, "The Electoral Districts of South Australia and Population as the Basis of Representation, 1851-1882", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1952, p.70.
15. Compiled from S.A.P.P., 1872, No.95 (The area which was later North Adelaide is here still included in West and East Adelaide).
16. Stephenson, "Electoral Districts", pp.78-107.
17. S.A.P.P., 1882/85.
18. Stephenson, "Electoral Districts", pp.85, 103, 104.
19. Ibid., p.44; S.A.P.P., 1879/149, qq.153, 254.
20. Act No.236 of 1881.
21. North Eastern Times and Terowie News, 14 Jan. 1881, p.2; Border Watch, 8 March 1873, p.2, 9 April 1873, p.2.
22. Observer, 26 Feb. 1881, p.365.
23. S.A.P.D., 1881, cols.284-289, 345-350, 378-380.
24. Ibid., cols.1017-8.
25. Ibid., cols.861-862.
26. Ibid., cols.378, 861, 1018.
27. Ibid., cols.1046-1052, 1335-6.
28. Act No.450 of 1888 gave two representatives to the Northern Territory, and Act No.462 of 1889 slightly altered the boundaries of some country electorates.
29. S.A.P.P., 1901/67. In 1891 the figures were 37.6% of the voters (up 1.6% from 1882) and 26% of the membership (down 1% following the creation of the Northern Territory electorate), see S.A.P.P., 1892/116.
30. The Legislative Council was elected on a restricted franchise. The figures in the following Table represent the number of electors on the roll, not the number entitled to vote. Thus the Table records variations in enrolment as well as changes in population distribution.

Legislative Council - Number on the Roll

District	Year		
	1882	1891	1901
Central	8618	9216	17,068
Southern	6953	8668	13,085
North Eastern	7904	6878	8,048
Northern	6721	8683	10,341

Source: S.A.P.P., 1885/83, 1891/113; Statistical Register, 1901 - The Population of Southern was maintained at a higher level than the other two country districts because of the inclusion of the rapidly growing suburban electorate of East Torrens.

31. This will be discussed in detail below, see pp.341, 359.
32. See J.M. Robertson, "Payment of Members: The Issue in South Australia, 1871-1887", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1959, which deals chiefly with the parliamentary history of the payment of members agitation.
33. See the division on the second reading of Cockburn's Bill, S.A.P.D., 1884, col.1116.
34. See the debate on payment at the Beautiful Valley branch of the Farmers Association (Observer, 25 Sept. 1880, p.522), and election meetings at Noarlunga (Observer, 16 Jan. 1875, p.11), and at Moonta (Wallaroo Times, 24 Feb. 1875, p.3)
35. E.g. Victoria 1877-1883. See Border Watch, 19 July 1882, p.4.
36. Figures compiled from the Statistical Record of the Legislature.
37. Kapunda Herald, 16 Sept. 1873, pp.2-3; Guardian (Kapunda) 13 Sept. 1873, p.2, 20 Sept. 1873, p.2.
38. Observer, 25 Sept. 1880, p.522.
39. Areas Express, 19 Jan. 1881, p.2.
40. Observer, 5 March 1887, p.10.

41. For a typical expression of this view, see the South Eastern Star, 3 Aug. 1883, p.2.
42. The career of Ebenezer Ward, adventurer par excellence, will be discussed later in the section.
43. Border Watch, 19 May 1883, p.2.
44. Basedow, Burgoyne, Catt, Cockburn, Furner.
45. For details of all parliamentary debates on payment of members, see Robertson, "Payment of Members".
46. S.A.P.D., 1871, col.460.
47. Ibid., cols.450, 452, 455, 457.
48. See J.E. Parnaby, "Economic and Political Development of Victoria, 1877-1881", Ph.D. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1951, chap.XII; P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, Parliament Factions and Parties, Melbourne, 1966, pp.122-126, 134-136.
49. Australian Star, 31 Jan. 1880, p.1, 10 July 1880, pp.1-2, 4 Dec. 1880, p.1, 25 Dec. 1880, p.1, 5 Feb. 1881, p.1.
50. Areas Express, 13 April 1881, p.2.
51. Acts No.10 of 1870, 348 of 1885, No.405 of 1887. See also C. Pantis, "The 1891 South Australian Royal Commission on Inter-Colonial Free Trade", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1964.
52. Trades and Labour Council Minutes, S.R.G. 1, 11, 14, 16 March 1887; Advertiser, 17 March 1887, p.2, 4 April 1887, p.6; F.S. Wallis, "History of the South Australian Labour Party, 1882-1900", S.A.A. 1347, pp.5-6. Kirkpatrick, a trade unionist, stood in turn for Port Adelaide and West Torrens, and was defeated in both. According to Wallis, ibid., and T.A. Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia, Oxford, 1918, Vol.IV, p.1928, seven endorsed candidates were successful. They may have included Bray as a successful candidate. Originally he received the Council's endorsement but it was subsequently withdrawn. See Minutes, 11 March.
53. Members' declared political opinions appear in The "Register" Guide to the Parliament of South Australia, Adelaide, 1887. George Hawker, returned for North Adelaide, was the only declared free-trader.

54. S.A.P.D., 1887, cols.942-948, 958, 974, 976-978. This and the earlier tariff debates in 1870 and 1885 make plain the comparative strengths of the genuine protectionists and those who supported a higher tariff for revenue purposes alone.
55. Ibid., cols.1278, 1279.
56. Chamber of Commerce, Minutes of Meetings, S.R.G. 78, General Meeting 29 Aug. 1885, 11 April 1888; Committee Meeting 24 Aug. 1887.
57. Observer, 7 March 1885, pp.9, 10.
58. Ibid., 13 March 1886, p.11.
59. Ibid., 5 March 1887, pp.10, 28, 29.
60. S.A.P.D., 1887, cols.890, 907-8, 974-5, 1068, 1071.
61. No metropolitan member voted against the new tariff. Eleven voted for it, and three were absent, S.A.P.D., 1887, col.735.
62. The land legislation of this period has been studied by G.L. Buxton in South Australian Land Acts 1869-1885, Adelaide, 1966 and K.R. Bowes in Land Settlement in South Australia, 1857-1890, Adelaide, 1968. These works are concerned with the history of legislation, its administration, and the settlement it encouraged or hindered. This section, by contrast, is concerned with the politics of the land reform movement. Bowes and Buxton tend to limit their discussion of politics to Bills which became law, and so they by-pass matters which are crucial to an understanding of the land reform movement: the 1870 elections and the failure of the 1870 Bill, the suspension of auction sales in 1871, the role of the land reformers and particularly of Ebenezer Ward. Bowes deals with the politics of the sixties, when pastoral legislation was under discussion, in much more detail. See below note 69.
63. S.A.P.D., 1868-9, cols.1008, 1011, Strangways confessed "he should be personally perfectly well satisfied to let the present system alone". (ibid.)
64. Acts Nos.12, 14 of 1868-69. For the passage of the Bills see Buxton, Land Acts, pp.9-12, Bowes, Land Settlement, pp.189-195.
65. S.A.P.P., 1871/125.
66. S.A.P.D., 1870, col.107.

67. Advertiser, 11 March 1870, p.2; Observer, 26 March 1870, p.13; Kapunda Herald, 18 March 1870; Southern Argus, 2 April 1870, p.2, 9 April 1870, p.2.
68. S.A.P.P., 1871/71, 125; G.R.G. 35/1/1871/288; J.B. Graham Papers, P.R.G. 100, Reel 3, Section 4, Canowie Report, 25 April 1870.
69. The account which follows is taken from Bowes, Land Settlement, p.94, chapters 5, 6.
70. Act No.21 of 1867. No.17 of 1869-70 extended the compensation rights and slightly amended the boundaries of the various pastoral districts. Williams Map of the Colony of South Australia c.1871 (S.A.A. Map Temp. No.26E) shows these boundaries, the position of the runs, and the name of the lessees.
71. Act No.17 of 1869-70 gave squatters in these areas the opportunity to take out a ten year lease from 1 July 1870 when their original lease expired. Under the new lease compensation was to be paid if the land were resumed, but only for improvements effected after 1 July 1870. So a squatter in these areas whose land was resumed just before this date (i.e. while the original lease was still current) received full compensation, while just after it he received nothing. If he surrendered his lease on June 30 1870 he was paid for all wells, dams, and reservoirs. See S.A.P.P., 1874/244.
72. See Tables showing occupation in Bowes, Land Settlement, pp.286-287, and in Keain, "Legislative Council", Appendix B.
73. See Ayers' comment, S.A.P.D., 1868-9, col.1429, "those persons who had secured their own runs could bear the loss of the pastoral tenants who would be affected by these Areas with a philosophy unparalleled", and that of Angas, ibid., 1872, col.870, who "disclaimed any personal interest in the land to be dealt with in the Bill, and said that he had not a single pastoral lease in that part of the colony" (i.e. south of Goyder's Line). For the lessees of the affected lands, see note 70 above.
74. For a clear expression of the assumption that capital must of necessity continue to have access to the land, see the debate on the motion for a Select Committee on the operation of land sales, S.A.P.D., 1865 (1st session) cols.195-198, 256-271. See also Hart's opposition to Strangways' Bill, S.A.P.D., 1868-9, 1012-1013.
75. S.A.P.D., 1870, cols.219, 329.

76. Observer, 11 June 1870, p.3; S.A.P.D., 1870, cols.105, 115.
77. The Advertiser for March 1870 has been used to examine the election meetings.
78. This was Lavington Glyde, see S.A.P.D., 1870, col.103; Advertiser, 15 March 1870, p.3.
79. Advertiser, 14 March 1870, p.2.
80. Victorian Act, No.360 of 1869.
81. S.A.P.D. 1870, col.102-3.
82. Ibid., col.221.
83. See Diary of John Hart, P.R.G.218, entries May to July 1871.
84. Ibid., 1 Aug. 1870.
85. Bright, Carr, Cheriton, Mann, Playford, Pearce and Ward. R. C. Baker perhaps warrants inclusion though the incongruity of casting the arch conservative of the nineties as a reformer makes one hesitate. The wildness of his promise that he was prepared to give the land away (Bunyip, 19 March 1870, p.2) may cast doubt on his sincerity. Two years before he had not even been prepared to allow farmers to take up land on credit (ibid, 14 March 1868, p.3).
86. The most illuminating source for Ward's life is the evidence taken in the libel case, Ward v Derrington, reported in the Register, 28 April to 6 May 1880.
87. Hart reports a meeting of new members called by Playford, Cheriton and Carr before the session opened which "came to nothing", Diary, 26 May 1870. A country caucus seems to have been more successful in 1868, see Observer, 26 March 1870, p.3 and S.A.P.D. 1868, col.1015.
88. S.A.P.D. 1870, cols.102-103, 226-228.
89. Ibid., cols.110-112, 180, 184, 378-379, 451-455.
90. Observer, 3 Sept. 1870, pp.14-15. Bright, the land reformer, claimed that "in districts near Adelaide where parties had to pay land agents high prices for land they were jealous at another portion getting land cheap", S.A.P.D. 1870, col.1087.
91. Observer, 3 Sept. 1870, p.13.

92. Kapunda Herald, 23 Sept. 1870, pp.3-4, 30 Sept. 1870, pp.3-4.
93. S.A.P.D., 1870, cols.1086-1090.
94. Cheriton may have denied this charge since he had promised to support a measure similar to Victoria's "with its evils rectified" (Advertiser, 10 March 1870, p.2), but Playford and Pearce had been unequivocal in their support (ibid., 17 March 1870, p.2, 7 March 1870, p.3).
95. S.A.P.D., 1870, cols.1108-1112, 1114-1118. It was suggested that Bright had been encouraged to abandon a flat fl per acre clause by a protest meeting at Port Wakefield in his electorate. This was, however, a very small and half-hearted meeting. See Observer, 20 Aug. 1870, p.4, 10 Sept. 1870, p.2.
96. S.A.P.D., 1870, col.1718.
97. Ibid., cols.584-603, 1719-1720.
98. Ibid., cols.1995-2011.
99. Gumeracha Guardian, 27 Jan. 1871, p.2.
100. S.A.P.D., 1870, col.1268.
101. S.A.P.P., 1872/63; Gumeracha Guardian, 10 March 1871, p.2. The 1870-1 session had finally allowed the farmers one concession which helped to stimulate this rush. In its dying stages a short Bill was rushed through reducing the deposit on selection from 20% to 10%, and allowing for quicker reductions in price if the land was not sold, Act No.27 of 1871.
102. Guardian, 27 June 1871, pp.2-3; Chronicle, 1 July 1871, p.6.
103. Guardian, 4 July 1871, p.2.
104. Ibid., 11 July 1871, p.2, 25 July 1871, p.2.
105. S.A.P.D., 1871, cols.2-3.
106. S.A.P.D., 1870, cols.1649-1650.
107. S.A.P.D., 1871, cols.119-122.
108. S.A.P.D., 1872, cols.672-675.
109. Ibid., cols.1856, 1883-1887, 1920.

110. Act No.18 of 1872.
111. Act No.22 of 1874.
112. The proceedings of the Ward v Derrington libel case, reported in the Register 28 April to 6 May 1880, are the most illuminating source for Ward's life. For his weakness for alcohol see Alfred March, "Pioneering Experience of Joseph March and descendants", S.A.A. D2960(L), pp.51-52; E. W. Hawker, Summary of Journal, S.A.A. D2617(L), 26 Oct. 1881. For his recitations see Observer, 14 May 1870, p.12, Gumeracha Guardian, 17 March 1871, p.3; Guardian (Clare), 30 May 1871, p.3. For his acting, see Australian Star, 6 March 1880, p.3. For his indolence, see S.A.P.D., 1876, cols.160-161.
113. S.A.P.D., 1874, cols.265-300.
114. Farmers Messenger, 10 Dec. 1875, p.9.
115. Register, 29 April 1880, p.6.
116. During the debate on the 1872 Bill Ward criticised the selfishness of farmers who to suit their own convenience supported substitute residence to the detriment of the public good. This was harsh censure since the Council would countenance no other form of relaxation of residence, S.A.P.D., 1872, cols.1686-7.
117. S.A.P.D., 1872, cols.903-910, 993-1000, 1883-1887.
118. Register, 23 Feb. 1878, Supplement, p.15. Prices were also affected by the quantity of land being offered. Farmers later claimed that land was held back to drive prices up.
119. S.A.P.D., 1874, cols.906-907, 1327-1329.
120. Ibid., cols.1331-2, 1338.
121. Ibid., cols.1423-1435, 1925.
122. Ibid., col.2209.
123. Before the 1875 election the Blyth Government announced that it would henceforth offer all land at £1 per acre, though the 1872 Act allowed a maximum initial offering price of £2 (Register, 22 Dec. 1874, p.6). This practice was continued and became law under Act No.86 of 1877. This was a small concession: it meant bidding for the good lands began at £1 instead of £2.

124. Buxton, Land Acts, pp.59-66.
125. See Bowes, Land Settlement, pp.226-227.
126. Chamber of Commerce, Minutes of General Meetings, S.R.G.78, 16 Aug. 1871. The Chamber took considerable interest in the land question. It debated the matter at its general meeting, 19 Nov. 1867. The Secretary wrote to the Sydney and Melbourne Chambers for their opinion on credit selection. At this meeting he reported that "they seemed to think the question foreign to objects contemplated in their rules and constitution and had no opinion to offer on the subject". One of the members urging the Chamber to take an interest in land reform was Charles Goode who secured and chaired the select committee on the land laws in 1865. See Minutes Committee Meetings, S.R.G.78, 15 Aug. 1867.
127. I have found two references (Advertiser, 17 March 1870, p.2; Bunyip, 26 March 1870, p.2) to a Land Reform League operating in Adelaide, but nothing to indicate that it was a significant body. At election meetings in the city resolutions were carried for both protection and liberal land laws, but the interest in protection was greater. See report of declaration of East Adelaide poll, Observer, 2 April 1870, pp.12-13, and Darling's comment, S.A.P.D., 1870, col.375. The city radicals would probably not have been concerned with the land laws had they not been the chief interest in the country. Similarly the country had to consider protection because it was being urged so strongly in Adelaide.
128. See above p.151.
129. See above pp.153-154.
130. Farmers Messenger, 21 Aug. 1874, p.8.
131. The premiers of these governments were John Hart, Sir Henry Ayers, and Arthur Blyth.
132. See above p.151.
133. Under pressure he sometimes supported payment in the House, e.g. S.A.P.D., 1871, col.455, but he opposed it in his papers, see Farmers Messenger, 23 Oct. 1874, p.8.
134. A. Musgrave to Colonial Secretary, 15 June 1875, G.R.G.2, Governor's Dispatches, 1875/26.
135. Buxton, Land Acts, pp.60, 64-66.

136. Farmers Messenger, 9 June 1876, p.2.
137. Farmers Messenger, 24 March 1876, p.8, 31 March 1876, p.8.
138. S.A.P.D., 1873, cols.939-943.
139. Act No.27 of 1872 created the new district of Wallaroo which was to return three members. These changes did not become effective until the general elections of 1875.
140. R. J. R. Donley, "From Wheat-Port to Industrial Town - A History of Port Pirie, 1873-1896", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1965, pp.1-2.
141. Guardian (Clare), 6, 20 June 1871.
142. S.A.P.D., 1871, cols.487-490.
143. G.R.G. 24/6/1871/1241; S.A.P.P., 1872/40.
144. S.A.P.D., 1872, col.240.
145. Ibid., cols.1705-1711.
146. G.R.G. 35/1/1872/162.
147. G.R.G. 35/1/1872/637.
148. S.A.P.P., 1872/67, 123, 187, 191; Votes and Proceedings, House of Assembly, 1872, pp.251, 337, 365.
149. S.A.P.D., 1872, cols.1892-1900.
150. S.A.P.D., 1873, cols.5-6.
151. S.A.P.P., 1873/57,60; Votes and Proceedings, House of Assembly, 1873, pp.13, 19, 23.
152. After the Port Broughton Railway Bill had passed the Assembly the Legislative Council received two petitions concerned with the line's route, S.A.P.P., 1873, Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Council, pp.51, 57.
153. S.A.P.D., 1873, col.311.
154. Wallaroo Times, 20 Dec. 1871, p.2; Register, 6 Jan. 1872, p.5.
155. S.A.P.D., 1872, cols.2280-1.

156. Meinig, Margins of the Good Earth, p.128 has a map showing various earlier proposals for railway extensions in the North.
157. S.A.P.D., 1871, cols.463-482, 532-547; S.A.P.P., 1871/56, 132, 134, 138, 140.
158. Riddoch was referring to the debate on the South East Railway Loan Bill, S.A.P.D., 1872, cols.2315-2317.
159. Border Watch, 14 May 1873, p.3, 18 June 1873, p.3.
160. Ibid., 28 June 1873, p.3.
161. C. Proud, The South Eastern Districts of South Australia in 1880, Adelaide, 1881, p.5.
162. Grant Book, County Robe, Lands Department, Adelaide.
163. E. M. Dunn, "The History of Kingston S.E. and the Surrounding District", M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1967, pp.107-108. See also S.A.P.D., 1870, cols. 1721, 1727.
164. S.A.P.P., 1870-71/65, 1871/56, 138.
165. Register, 15 Dec. 1874, p.6. I have found no record of subsequent activities of the League. Boucaut, who came to office six months later gave the League most of what it wanted and made agitation unnecessary. This one meeting is nevertheless a useful indication of the requirements of those groups which were represented.
166. Observer, 18 May 1861, Supplement, p.2. S.A.A. holds business records of the Company at B.R.G.30.
167. S.A.P.P., 1872/65 reports on "Mineral Resources North of Port Augusta".
168. Register, 12 Jan. 1875, p.2.
169. S.A.P.P., 1881/27, q.299.
170. Register, 13 Jan. 1875, p.6.
171. Areas Express, 21 Aug. 1880, p.3.
172. Port Pirie Gazette, 5 April 1878, p.3.
173. S.A.P.P., 1881/27, p.12, qq.195, 500, 586, 597, 714, 2170. Compare the attitude of the manager of the South Australian Company expressed here (q.586) with his caution five years earlier, Colonial Manager to London Office, B.R.G.42, 21 April 1876.

174. The one line which remained separate was the Port Broughton to Mundoorra tramway. The Strathalbyn to Port Victor tramway was joined to the railway network by a line running from Mount Barker Junction on the Adelaide-Nairne line. This was authorised in 1881. In 1907 the first part of the Eyre Peninsula railway system was opened for traffic. These lines have remained separate from the main network.
175. C. Fenner, South Australia: A Geographical Study, Melbourne, 1931, p.172; Meinig, Margins of the Good Earth, p.161. In several places in his chapter "Setting the Patterns of Circulation", (pp.133, 142 e.g.), Meinig incorrectly implies that disputes over railway routes were contests between Adelaide merchants and the outports. This results from his failure to recognise that Adelaide wheat merchants conducted the trade at the outports.
176. See above Part I Sections 3, 4.
177. Wallaroo Times, 27 March 1875, p.2; S.A.P.P., 1875/22, pp.110-117.
178. S.A.P.D., 1876, cols.1048-1056.
179. Ibid., 1877, cols.1334-1339.
180. Register, 15 Dec. 1874, p.6.
181. S.A.P.D., 1878, cols.355-360.
182. Areas Express, 14 Aug. 1880, p.2, 15 Dec. 1880, p.2; Advertiser, 31 Jan. 1882, p.6; S.A.P.P., 1881/27, qq.1796, 1797, 1802. For an earlier expression of Port Pirie's desire for connection with the capital, see Port Pirie Gazette, 27 July 1877, p.2.
183. See the speech of Ebenezer Ward, the chief proponent of the line, S.A.P.D., 1878, cols.412-421, and his editorial, Farmers Messenger, 2 Oct. 1874, p.8.
184. Border Watch, 19 July 1882, pp.2, 4.
185. Chamber of Commerce, Minutes of General Meetings, S.R.G.78, 11 Aug. 1882.
186. S.A.P.D., 1882, cols.1264-1271, 1322-1338, 1413-1418, 1531.
187. S.A.P.D., 1876, col.1145.
188. S.A.P.D., 1874, col.1314.

189. A. H. Stempel and J. C. Tolley, The Story of Victor Harbour, Victor Harbour, 1965, gives a clear account of all the public works undertaken here.
190. See the comments of the manager of the South Australian Company, Colonial Manager to London Office, B.R.G.42, 26 Jan. 1865.
191. Chamber of Commerce, General Meetings Minutes, 23 July 1873 - Quarterly Synopsis of activity; Committee Meetings Minutes, 19 Aug. 1874. The views of the Adelaide merchants and shippers are scattered in various places, to some of which references will be given below. S.A.P.D., 1878, cols.340-341 provide a clear statement of them.
192. See Appendix IX.
193. S.A.P.D., 1874, cols.142-150, 771-773, 863-865, 1077-1083, 1229-1237, 1313-1324.
194. Kapunda Herald, 16 Oct. 1874, p.2; Farmers Messenger, 23 Oct. 1874, p.8.
195. S.A.P.D., 1874, cols.1903-1906.
196. Ibid., cols.1887-1891.
197. Ibid., col.2013.
198. Ibid., col.2047.
199. Ibid., col.2089.
200. The issues of the Border Watch, Kapunda Herald, Wallaroo Times, and Northern Argus for Oct.1874 were examined.
201. See e.g. Farmers Messenger, 11 Dec. 1874, p.11; Northern Argus, 16 Oct. 1874, p.3; Wallaroo Times, 17 Oct. 1874, pp.2, 3.
202. Border Watch, 24 Oct. 1874, p.2.
203. Wallaroo Times, 24 Oct. 1874, p.2.
204. S.A.P.D., 1874, col.2142.
205. Ibid., cols.2002-2011, 2051.
206. S.A.P.D., 1875, col.1190.

207. Ibid., cols.1200-1201. Observer, 6 Feb. 1875, p.11, 30 Oct. 1875, p.11. Governor Jervois supported this view, see W. F. D. Jervois to Colonial Secretary, 2 Nov. 1878, G.R.G.2, Governor's Dispatches, 1878/54.
208. S.A.P.D., 1878, col.487.
209. S.A.P.D., 1876, cols.270, 272, 425-431.
210. Ibid., cols.1761-1780, 1834-1844.
211. See N. G. Butlin, Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900, Cambridge, 1964, pp.305-314.
212. S.A.P.D., 1876, cols.1974-1978. Some were also opposed to improving Port Victor because a branch of the Melbourne firm McCulloch's was trading there. See S.A.P.D., 1878, cols.2189-2190 and the letters written by G. Fergusson, the Port Victor manager, to Boucaut between 1875 and 1878, Boucaut Papers, (Victor Harbour and the Murray), S.A.A. 100/3, 25, 27-36, 38, 40-41, 43.
213. S.A.P.D., 1877, col.2128.
214. Boucaut Papers (Miscellaneous), S.A.A. 132/32. Draft letter, 4 July 1876, unaddressed - perhaps to L. Y. Tite (see S.A.A. 100/22, 23, 24, for Boucaut's correspondence with Tite who was chairman of the Encounter Bay District Council).
215. He wrote to the Port Victor manager of the Melbourne firm of McCulloch's asking his opinion on rates for the new line, and received in reply a recommendation that no special rate be fixed, G. Fergusson to J. P. Boucaut, 1 July 1878, S.A.A. 100/41.
216. G.R.G. 23/1/1878/1040, 1163.
217. Stephenson, "Electoral Districts of South Australia", pp.78-79.
218. Government Gazette, 20 Feb. 1879, p.522.
219. G.R.G. 23/1/1880/1134; Register, 30 June 1880, Supplement, p.2. The merchants had previously conferred and appointed a committee to act, see Observer, 26 June 1880, p.1062. The deputation from Encounter Bay requested that reporters be not admitted to their interview with the Commissioner, so no record of it survives. See S.A.P.D., 1880, cols.587, 1082.
220. G.R.G. 23/1/1880/1056.
221. Government Gazette, 20 July 1880, p.397.

222. Southern Argus, 5 Aug. 1880, pp.2-3.
223. See the regular report of branch meetings in the Observer, July - Dec. 1880, and especially pp.297, 338, 386, 522 for the opinion of Pirie, Appila, Kilkerran branches.
224. Observer, 9 Oct. 1880, p.624. In 1881 the rate on Morgan wool was reduced still further, see ibid., 3 Sept. 1881, p.25.
225. Compare S.A.P.D., 1880, cols.584-587, 1080-1090 and ibid., 1888, cols.1200-1204, 1418-1419.
226. See Appendix IX for Port Victor's share of the wool trade. For exports up river see Statistical Registers - Interchange.
227. See Appendix IX.
228. For an embodiment of Encounter Bay's views, see C. R. Hodge, Encounter Bay, The Miniature Naples of Australia, Adelaide, 1932, pp.x, 42.
229. S.A.P.D., 1878, cols.412-430, 538-543, 659-678.
230. Ibid., cols.1556-1564, 1582-1592, 1617-1629, 1681-1689.
231. Observer, 26 Nov. 1881, p.30. The Manager of the South Australian Company wrote: "personally I am not at all convinced that this will prove ... a profitable outlay for the Colony, but there is no doubt much of the Company's Estate will be greatly benefited and enhanced in value by the construction of such a line", Colonial Manager to London Office, B.R.G.42, 30 Nov. 1878.
232. S.A.P.P., 1885/29, p.43, 1886/29, p.46, 1886/29A, p.4.
233. S.A.P.P., 1885/29, p.42.
234. Far more of these were authorised during the second great period of railway building from 1904 onwards, when parties had replaced the loose political groupings of the nineteenth century. It is interesting to note in this regard that, contrary to a popular view, the nineteenth century politicians do not suffer by comparison with their successors.
235. S.A.P.D., 1878, col.1625.
236. Jamestown Review, 21 Nov. 1878, p.2; Kapunda Herald, 24 Nov. 1878, p.2.
237. Areas Express, 16 March 1881, p.3, 19 March 1881, p.2.

238. See above p.151.
239. S.A.P.D., 1882, col.691.
240. For projected lines to the North-east see S.A.P.D., 1866-67/161, end-paper map; 1875/22, Report, pp.xii, xv. Gold was discovered at Waukaringa in the North-east country in 1872.
241. Donley, "History of Port Pirie", pp.82-88.
242. S.A.P.D., 1884, cols.1595-6, 1633, 1712.
243. Ibid., col.1523.
244. G. Blainey, The Rush That Never Ended, Melbourne, 1963, p.149.
245. S.A.P.P., 1888/90, qq.415, 416, 417, 468.
246. Ibid., q.27.
247. Donley, "History of Port Pirie", p.104.
248. S.A.P.P., 1888/90, q.30.
249. Ibid., pp.37-42; South Australian Company, Colonial Manager to London Office, B.R.G.42, 5, 19 Nov. 1888; Advertiser, 5 May 1888, p.6.
250. S.A.P.P., 1888/90, qq.1686, 1707, 1797-1799.
251. Ibid., pp.29-32, 61-66, 70-81.
252. S.A.P.P., 1889/76.
253. These fears were expressed at successive General Meetings of the Chamber of Commerce, S.R.G.78, 25 April, 1, 16 May, 24 Oct. 1888.
254. G.R.G.23/1/1888/505. In November 1888 a Select Committee recommended that the government pay transfer charges and the Commissioner of Public Works, who had been one of the Committee, then announced the Government's concurrence, S.A.P.P., 1888/90, p.vi; S.A.P.D., 1888, col.1735-1737.
255. S.A.P.D., 1889, col.182.
256. Ibid., col.222.
257. Ibid., cols.222, 746.
258. Ibid., col.460.

259. Ibid., cols.1343-1346, 1520-1525, 1579-1585. The Railway Commissioners, newly appointed to conduct the railways in an efficient manner free from political interference, advised the Government not to proceed with its own or any other schemes (apart from improvements in the method of transferring goods) to solve the break of gauge difficulty at Terowie. G.R.G. 23/1/1889/675.
260. See above pp.151, 153.
261. Catt authorised the alteration of railway rolling stock to carry coke from Port Pirie, in accordance with the B.H.P.'s wishes, Advertiser, 5 May 1888, p.6.
262. S.A.P.P., 1888/90, qq.1319-1324, 2495-6, 2536.
263. Observer, 9 June 1888, p.32; Laura Standard, 25 July 1889.
264. Chamber of Commerce, General Meetings, S.R.G.78, 1 May 1888; Advertiser, 30 June 1888, p.6.
265. Advertiser, 30 June 1888, p.6.
266. See South Australian Company, Colonial Manager to London Office, B.R.G.42, 5 Nov. 1888.
267. See S.A.P.P., 1888/90, q.2202.
268. S.A.P.D., 1888, col.1631.
269. Donley, "History of Port Pirie", pp.105-108.
270. S.A.P.D., 1888, col.1992; 1892, col.2045; 1894, col.2978.
271. As early as June 1889 the Manager of the South Australian Company wrote: "Though the bulk of the trade [in ore and bullion] goes to Port Pirie we have benefited considerably at Port Adelaide", Colonial Manager to London Office, B.R.G.42, 17 June 1889.
272. See the complaint of Encounter Bay that Adelaide ship agents would not supply Port Victor with sufficient shipping, Southern Argus, 23 Sept. 1880, pp.2-3.
273. See e.g. Port Augusta Dispatch, 19 Oct 1878, p.4.
274. Observer, 8 March 1884, p.10.
275. See Combe, Responsible Government in South Australia, pp.221-227.
276. S.A.P.D., 1882, cols.1637-1647, 1883, cols.370-373.

277. S.A.P.D., 1884, col.514; Areas Express, 29 Feb. 1884, p.2.
278. S.A.P.D., 1881, col.1014.
279. Observer, 28 May 1887, p.31, 2 July 1887, pp.35, 38; S.A.P.D., 1887, cols.360, 786.
280. Register, 1 May 1880, p.6, 5 May 1880, Supplement, p.1. These loans may explain his extraordinary attempt to allow squatters a pre-emptive right to their homesteads (S.A.P.D., 1872, cols. 1572-5) and his less than wholehearted support for the abolition of Goyder's Line. He was more concerned with making land cheap and stopping abuses (Farmers Messenger, 17 July 1874, p.8, 24 July 1874, p.8, 25 Sept. 1874, pp.8-9).
281. Areas Express, 15 Dec. 1880, p.2.
282. Observer, 18 Dec. 1880, p.1018, 26 Feb. 1881, p.366.
283. Observer, 11 June 1892, p.10.
284. Ibid., 28 Feb. 1880, p.367, 6 March 1880, p.411.
285. Ibid., 19 Sept. 1891, p.8.
286. The Observer, (which published an index from 1880) provides full reports of the Association's annual conferences, held late February or early March, and of a large number of branch meetings as well. These and other general remarks on the functioning of the Association are based on a survey of these reports. Executive meetings of the Association were usually reported in the Areas Express.
287. See e.g. Observer, 26 Feb. 1881, pp.367-368, 4 March 1882, pp.12-13.
288. Areas Express, 9 March 1881, p.2. T. Cowan had also been asked to stand for the Council, but he declined, (ibid., 23 March 1881, p.2).
289. Observer, 10 March 1883, p.12.
290. Chronicle, 10 June 1882, p.6. Miller was among the first six in the Assembly electorates of Burra, Flinders, Light, Stanley, Woorroora and Wallaroo. These embraced all the new farming lands in the North and on Yorke Peninsula.
291. Areas Express, 13 April 1881, pp. 2, 3; Chronicle, 27 May 1882, p.2.
292. Areas Express, 16 April 1881, p.2, 20 April 1881, pp.2, 3; Observer, 4 March 1882, p.11; Chronicle, 27 May 1882, p.13, 3 June 1882, p.14.

293. Areas Express, 27 April 1881, p.2.
294. Ibid., 9 March 1881, p.2.
295. Ibid., 19 Jan. 1881, p.2.
296. Chronicle, 12 April 1884, p.22, 19 April 1884, p.13; Observer, 19 April 1884, p.10.
297. Observer, 4 March 1882, p.12.
298. Act No. 275 of 1882.
299. S.A.P.D., 1883, cols.33, 40-42, 45, 457, 458. The Association had rejected second auction schemes, see Observer, 4 March 1882, p.31.
300. Bowes, Land Settlement, p.242.
301. Act No. 318 of 1884.
302. S.A.P.P., 1888/28, q.63.
303. In 1883 the Government introduced a Bill to give effect to Association policy, but it was laid aside when the Council insisted and the Assembly refused to grant concessions to substitute residents. Shades of 1870! See S.A.P.D., 1883, cols.1873, 1883. This was probably a delaying action on the Government's part. The Executive of the Association urged the Government to pass the Bill with the Council's amendment, but to no effect, Areas Express, 19 Feb. 1884, p.3, 22 Feb. 1884, p.2, 26 Feb. 1884, p.2. The 1884 Act allowed concessions to substitute residents.
304. These figures are given in the reports to annual conferences printed in the Observer.
305. See e.g. Observer, 8 March 1884, pp.10, 11; 7 March 1885, p.10.
306. Ibid., 13 March 1886, pp.9-10, 5 March 1887, p.10.
307. See the comment of the Association's President on the difficulty of framing a policy for the relaxation of credit agreements: "We are very liable to offend those living in the South by being too liberal, and those living in the North by not being liberal enough". (Areas Express, 19 Feb. 1884, p.3).
308. It was accepted in 1880 by 22 branches out of 35, Observer, 25 Sept. 1880, p.522.

309. See above p.239.
310. See Observer, 4 Sept. 1880, p.386 (reports of Venning's visits to Stansbury and Port Victoria), 25 Sept. 1880, p.522 (report of visit at Beautiful Valley).
311. Robertson, "Payment of Members", pp.94, 109-111.
312. Ibid., pp.128-133.
313. S.A.P.D., 1871, col.447.

NOTES PART II, SECTION 2

1. W. K. Hancock, Australia, (Jacaranda, 1961), pp.52-54; G. V. Portus, Free, Compulsory and Secular: A Critical Estimate of Australian Education, Oxford, 1937, pp.6-17, and "Americans and Australians", Australian Quarterly, Vol.XIV (1942), pp.30-41.
2. Hancock, Australia, p.52.
3. Portus, "Americans and Australians", p.35.
4. See A. G. Austin, Australian Education 1788-1900: Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia, Melbourne, 1961, pp.173-177; R. S. Parker, "The Government of New South Wales" in S. R. Davis (ed.), The Government of the Australian States, Melbourne, 1960, p.160; Ruth Atkins, "Local Government" in R. N. Spann (ed.), Public Administration in Australia, Sydney, 1959, p.161, who concedes, however, that "It is just possible that an imaginative policy might have established local government even in these adverse conditions"; C. M. H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History 1851-1900, Sydney, 1955, p.320.
5. Portus, Free, Compulsory, Secular, pp.15-16, "Americans and Australians", pp.34-35.
6. N. G. Butlin, "Colonial Socialism in Australia 1860-1900" in H. G. J. Aitken (ed.), The State and Economic Growth, New York, 1959, pp.40-41; G. Blainey, The Tyranny of Distance, Melbourne, 1966, p.256-9.
7. The argument is set out most clearly in Portus, "Americans and Australians". It is supported by Clark, Select Documents, Vol.2, p.320.
8. George S. Blair, American Local Government, New York, 1964, pp.36-38.
9. See Paul W. Wager (ed.), County Government Across the Nation, North Carolina University Press, 1950.
10. Portus, Free, Compulsory, Secular, pp.9-10.
11. Hancock, Australia, p.53.
12. Austin, Australian Education, pp.174-175 refers to settlers in "inaccessible corners" and "remote scrubby gullies".
13. The S.A.A. possesses two indexes compiled by J. McLellan which give details of location and date of establishment of the Anglican and the various Methodist churches; a collection of newspaper articles on Catholic churches by R. Morrison taken from the Southern Cross; and "The History of the Presbyterian Church in South Australia, 1839-1939",

by W. Gray, a bound collection of articles from the Presbyterian Banner. John Barrett in That Better Country, Melbourne, 1966, p.74-75, estimates that as early as 1851, 85% of the New South Wales population was not so sparse and scattered that it could not comfortably attend a place of worship.

14. Act No.16 of 1852. For debate on the Bill see Register, 18 Sept. 1852, pp.2, 3. The elected members forced the insertion of the clause requiring the receipt of a petition.
15. For the area, and date of establishment of councils and corporations see Lists of Government Towns and Townships, Counties, Hundreds, Corporate Towns, and District Councils in the Colony of South Australia, Government Printer, Adelaide, 1896. The S.A.A. holds a map showing local government areas in 1891, C 341.
16. For the powers of councils see Act No.43 of 1876.
17. Observer, 23 April 1870, p.2. See C. Proud, The South Eastern Districts of South Australia in 1880, Adelaide, 1881, pp.21-24.
18. Act No.419 of 1887.
19. Letters from councils and Playford's local agents are filed in Crown Lands Department, Letters received, G.R.G.35/1. Playford decided on his local agents on 10 Dec. 1887 (G.R.G. 35/1/1887/2446) and the last agent's report was received on 31 Jan. 1888, (ibid., 1888/374).
20. At the 1891 census Counties Flinders, Musgrave, Robinson and Jervois, with an area of 10,660 square miles, had a population of 3,531.
21. It should be noted, however, that when Austin in his Australian Education asserts that "the colonial governments found themselves directly responsible for the provision of roads, railways, telegraph, water - and schools" (p.176), he is not referring to such a tradition. Following Portus, he claims that central governments had to control schools just as they had to control public utilities on account of the sparsity of settlement. This assumption of necessity cannot be accepted. The argument from tradition can only refer to a state of mind in legislators and governments.
22. Hancock, Australia, p.54.
23. Portus, Free, Compulsory, and Secular, p.17.
24. Papers Relative to South Australia, H.M.S.O., 1843, pp.9-14, 132.
25. See Register of Admissions to Destitute Asylum, G.R.G.28/5.

26. See A. P. Walker, "The Adelaide Hospital in its Relations with Government, 1837-1900", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1960.
27. The account which follows is based on the Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission on the Destitute Board, S.A.P.P., 1883-4/228 and the Minutes of the Destitute Board, G.R.G.28/1.
28. In 1866 four country Auxiliary Boards were appointed, but they only operated for a short time, see S.A.P.P., 1883-4/228, p.xx.
29. See e.g. Destitute Board, Minutes of Meetings, G.R.G. 28/1, Vol.10, 10 Oct. 1889.
30. See e.g. ibid., Vol.16, 14 May, 12 Nov. 1903; 14 Jan. 1904.
31. Ibid., 30 April 1903.
32. Ibid., Vol.10, 11 Sept., 16 Oct., 27 Nov. 1890.
33. Destitute Asylum, Register of Admissions, G.R.G.28/5, Vol.3, 20 April 1891.
34. Government Gazette, 3 Aug. 1882, p.2431.
35. S.A.P.P., 1888/30, p.xix.
36. For further discussion see below, pp.311.
37. Douglas Pike, Paradise of Dissent, Melbourne, 1957, pp.287-294.
38. Under Act No.15 of 1869-70.
39. Act No.12 of 1874.
40. Under Act No.15 of 1865-6. See Government Gazette, 12 April 1866, p.361; 22 Nov. 1866, p.1195; 9 May 1867, p.447.
41. S.A.P.D., 1869, cols.130-133, 152-167, 465.
42. Ibid., 1870, cols.849, 929, 1373; 1871, cols.130-131, 364-367, 438-439; 1872, cols.1170-1176, 1511-1527.
43. Ibid., 1873, cols.793-798, 1093-1099.
44. Ibid., 1874, cols.732-739, 882-884.
45. Ibid., 1871, col.365, 1872, cols.1175-1176.

46. For a sample of the indignation meetings see Observer, 26 Aug. 1871, p.4, 2 Sept. 1871, p.10, 9 Sept. 1871, p.4; and of the opposition of the country press, see Wallaroo Times, 19 Aug. 1871, p.2, 13 Sept. 1871, p.2, Kapunda Herald, 17 Oct. 1873, p.2, 31 Oct. 1873, p.2.
47. See especially views of the Association of District Council Chairmen, Observer, 2 Sept. 1871, p.10.
48. S.A.P.D., 1872, col.1516.
49. Ibid., 1874, col.920.
50. In road districts where large areas were without local government the government appointed even more members.
51. For examples of this interference, see North Midland Road Board, Minutes of Meetings, S.A.A. 277, Nos.1097, 1112, 1126, 2032, 2047, 2063 (Dec. 1879 - Sept. 1880); Midland Road Board, Letters Received, S.A.A. 338, 1876/42, 1877/29, 47.
52. See e.g. Observer, 17 July 1886, p.32, North Midland Road Board, Minutes, Nos.1092, 2044, 6211, 6221, 6227. Midland Road Board, Letters Received, 1875/38, 1876/26, 1881/65.
53. S.A.P.D., 1873, col.708.
54. Observer, 21 Oct. 1871, p.13, 11 Nov. 1871, p.12.
55. Ibid., 11 Nov. 1871, p.12.
56. Chronicle, 16 Sept. 1871, p.11.
57. Observer, 18 Nov. 1871, p.6.
58. Ibid., 9 Dec. 1871, p.5.
59. Ibid., 15 March 1873, p.12.
60. S.A.P.D., 1873, cols.402-403.
61. Act No.22 of 1873.
62. Compare 38 and 39 Vict., c.55, section 299 with section 36 of the South Australian Act. See Sir John Simon, English Sanitary Institutions, London, (second ed.), 1897, pp.361-375, 379-382.
63. See vote on third reading S.A.P.D., 1873, col.1338. Smith and Simms were brewers. Bray and Ramsay were acting with Boucaut in opposition. Carr had consistently opposed the Bill.

64. S.A.P.D., 1873, cols.709-711, 1337.
65. This was John Carr, see ibid., cols.1024, 1026, 1262, 1338.
66. Ibid., cols.1022-1026.
67. Ibid., cols.711-712.
68. See ibid., cols.403-4 (West-Erskine), 704-7 (Rees), 751-2 (Bundey), 1338 (Mortlock).
69. Ibid., cols.713, 1031, 1273.
70. Act No.56 of 1876. For the Central Board of Health's submission to the Chief Secretary on the need for amending legislation, see G.R.G. 24/6/1875/1405.
71. This account is based on the annual reports of the Central Board published in S.A.P.P., between 1875 and 1888.
72. See e.g. report on Hawker, 250 miles north of Adelaide, S.A.P.P., 1885/66, p.5.
73. Act No.11 of 1875. For a fuller discussion of the implementation of the Education Act see J. B. Hirst, "Centralisation Reconsidered: the South Australian Education Act of 1875", Historical Studies, Vol.13 (1967), pp.42-59.
74. Act No.20 of 1851.
75. Douglas Pike, "A Society without Grandparents", and "Education in an Agricultural State", in Melbourne Studies in Education, 1957-58, ed. E. L. French, pp.59, 71.
76. S.A.P.P., 1874/24, pp.8, 11.
77. Ibid., p.11, gives a list of all vested schools.
78. Observer, 30 Aug. 1862, p.3.
79. Ibid., 13 Sept. 1873, p.3; Chronicle, 25 Nov. 1871, p.7, 24 July 1875, p.23.
80. S.A.P.P., 1875/26, pp.1, 4; 1876/161, p.3; Chronicle, 15 July 1871, p.7, 21 Oct. 1871, p.7.
81. S.A.P.P., 1874/24, pp.8, 10.

82. S.A.P.D., 1874, cols.1590, 1781; S.A.P.P., 1874/7, p.15, 1875/26, p.4.
83. S.A.P.P., 1873/36, p.4.
84. Henry Brown, "The Development of the Public School System in South Australia" S.A.A. D4828(T), pp.95, 100-1, 119, 121, 123.
85. S.A.P.P., 1874/24, p.3; Guardian (Kapunda), 25 Oct. 1873, p.2; Chronicle, 14 Oct. 1871, p.7, 21 Oct. 1871, p.7, 25 Nov. 1871, p.7.
86. S.A.P.P., 1873/36, p.3.
87. S.A.P.P., 1873/36, p.2, and especially 1875/52.
88. See above p.151.
89. S.A.P.P., 1873/36, p.5, 1874/24, p.7, 1875/26, p.4.
90. A copy of the Bill was consulted at Parliament House, Adelaide.
91. S.A.P.D., 1871, cols.738-742.
92. Observer, 9 Sept.1871, p.4; Chronicle, 9 Sept. 1871, p.8.
93. Advertiser, 16 Oct. 1871, p.2.
94. Register, 13 Oct. 1871, p.4, 25 Oct. 1871, p.4.
95. S.A.P.D., 1871, col.738.
96. Ibid., col.739.
97. Register, 13 Oct. 1871, p.4; Observer, 9 Sept. 1871, p.4.
98. S.A.P.D., 1871, col.860.
99. The Government said it was prepared to make this change in regard to compulsion, S.A.P.D., 1871, col.860.
100. See Statistical Registers - Revenue and Expenditure. Customs receipts for 1871 were £234,981; for 1876, £444,517. The tariff had been raised in 1870.
101. S.A.P.P., 1885/61.
102. S.A.P.D., 1873, col.398.
103. Ibid., 1873, col.321, 1875, cols.664-5.
104. The Lutherans came nearest to seeking this. Since they lived in

separate communities they could consider local control as a means of safeguarding the teaching of their language and religion. At a meeting of teachers and clergy in 1873 a recommendation in favour of some form of local control was considered, but the petition which they finally presented to parliament went further and asked for what the domineering pastors really wanted and what could not be given - a denominational system. See Observer, 20 Sept. 1873, p.6; S.A.P.P. 1873/101.

105. See especially debate on Playford's amendment, S.A.P.D., 1875, cols. 807-9.
106. Ibid., 1873, cols.546-9.
107. Ibid., 1871, cols.864-5.
108. Ibid., 1875, cols.491-2.
109. Ibid., cols. 662-3.
110. Ibid., cols. 663-7.
111. Observer, 13 Feb. 1875, p.3.
112. For lists of schools transferred see S.A.P.P., 1877/34, pp.42-43, 1878/40, p.45. For a fuller discussion of the transfer, see Hirst, "Centralisation Reconsidered", pp.51-52.
113. See e.g. Parker, "The Government of New South Wales" in Davis (ed.), op.cit., p.160; F. A. Larcombe, The Development of Local Government in New South Wales, Melbourne, 1961, p.47; Sean Glynn, Urbanisation in Australian History, 1788-1900, Melbourne, 1970, p.32.
114. 4 and 5 Wm.IV, c.95, section 6.
115. 5 and 6 Vict., c.36, sections 18, 19.
116. Act No.5 of 1857. Act No.17 of 1862 attempted to restore something of Wakefield's principle, but this proved unacceptable. See S.A.P.D., 1872, col.872.
117. See Appendix X.
118. Paul Studenski and Herman E. Kross, Financial History of the United States, 2nd ed., New York, 1963, pp.66-67, 96-102, 117, 126, 130; B. H. Hibbard, A History of the Public Land Policies, New York, 1924, chaps.X, XIII.

119. See above pp.35, 266.
120. Wallaroo Times, 25 Oct. 1871, p.2. Similar opposition came from the proprietors of the Kapunda mines, see I. J. Bettison, "Kapunda: A Study of the Establishment of a Community in Rural South Australia", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1960, pp.39-40.
121. Government Gazette, 2 March 1876, p.373; G.R.G.35/1/1875/937, 1042.
122. The Commissioner of Crown Lands appointed pound keepers and issuers of licences for dogs, the cutting of stone and timber etc. Roads and bridges were provided by the Public Works Department or the Road Boards.
123. Under Act No. 365 of 1885. Act No.481 of 1890 took licence fees for hotels and auctioneers away from councils and re-established a general subsidy of 5/- in the £. Councils, and portions of councils, incorporated for the first time under the 1887 Act were to receive 10/- in the £ for three years.
124. Act No.419 of 1887.
125. See S.A.P.P., 1888/67, pp.12-13.
126. Act No.711 of 1899.
127. S.A.P.P., 1890/30C, p.xiii, q.1861; S.A.P.D. (H.A.) 1913, p.1149; Acts Nos. 1126, 1141 of 1913.
128. See W. L. Burn, The Age of Equipoise, A Study of the Mid-Victorian Generation, London, 1964, chap.4.
129. S.A.P.D., 1875, col.808.
130. Ibid., 1873, cols.317, 738-740.
131. Register, 5 Sept. 1873, p.4. See also Observer, 9 Sept. 1871, p.4 for a similar volte face.
132. See above pp.282-283.
133. S.A.P.D., 1873, cols.358, 739.
134. B. T. Finniss, Constitutional History of South Australia, Adelaide, 1886, pp.47, 63-64.
135. S.A.P.P., 1885/228, pp.xxxii-xxxiii.
136. See above pp.63-64.

137. See above^{pp.} 191-242.
138. G.R.G. 24/6/1877/1246; S.A.P.P., 1877/186, 180; Observer, 8 May 1869, p.5; Kapunda Herald, 4 Nov. 1873, p.2, 20 Oct. 1882, p.2; Port Augusta Dispatch, 30 Sept.1882, p.6.
139. See e.g. North Eastern Times and Terowie News, 7 Jan. 1881, pp.2-3, 4 Feb. 1881, p.2; Agriculturist and Review, 13 Dec. 1882, p.2.
140. Acts No. 195 of 1880, 386 of 1886.
141. S.A.P.P., 1880/121; Government Gazette, 14 July 1881, p.92.
142. See R. M. Hague, "History of Law in South Australia", S.A.A.1051, chap.6, section vi.
143. See K. K. O'Donoghue, "Princeland: The Colony that might have been", Twentieth Century, Vol.VI (1951), pp.22-31.
144. Border Watch, 5 July 1873, p.2, 9 Aug. 1873, p.2. For the rejection by the Farmers and Producers Political Union of a South East proposal to allow district councils to collect and spend the land tax, see Observer, 13 March 1909, p.51.

NOTES PART II, SECTION 3

1. See above pp.156.
2. S.A.P.D., 1887, cols. 683-685; Act No. 399 of 1887.
3. Act No. 476 of 1890.
4. See J. Scarfe, "The Labour Wedge, The First Six Labour Members of the South Australian Legislative Council", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1968.
5. See H. Disney, "The 1893 Election for the South Australian House of Assembly", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1967.
6. See L. E. Kiek, "The History of South Australian Labour Unions", M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1948 (Appendix One lists unions). I have also consulted the rules and reports of the unions that complied with the registration requirements. These are held at G.R.G. 1/CB/5.
7. For rules and annual reports of the Association see G.R.G. 1/CB/5/22.
8. W. G. Spence, Australia's Awakening, Sydney, 1909, p.37. For rules of these Associations see G.R.G. 1/CB/5/25, 31, 34.
9. G. T. Powell, "Uncertain Frontiers, A Study of the Waterside Workers Federation in South Australia 1917-1922", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1966, pp.17, 18.
10. W. G. Spence, History of the A.W.U., Sydney, 1911, p.17.
11. Summaries of attendance are given in half yearly and yearly reports of the Council. Some of these are included in the Council's Minutes, S.R.G.1, and others can be consulted in the Coneybeer Papers, P.R.G. 22/19.
12. Disney, "The 1893 Elections", pp.48-49. Observer, 6 May 1899, pp.11-12. Even so the Party had to meet criticism that it was attempting to "swamp" the House. See Herald, 15 April 1899, p.7.
13. Observer, 18 April 1896, pp.11-12.
14. Ibid., 15 April 1899, p.29.

15. Ibid., 28 Jan. 1892, pp.31-32. The Adelaide men listed here as members of the first Council would have been the foundation members.
16. Observer, 25 July 1891, p.30.
17. Ibid., 6 May 1893, p.31.
18. For a discussion of the League's leadership see below pp.369-370.
19. Observer, 30 April 1892, p.29.
20. Observer, 13 July 1889, p.31.
21. Ibid., 27 July 1889, pp.33-34.
22. See above p.157.
23. S.A.P.D., 1889, col. 221.
24. J. A. Coughlan, Labour and Industry in Australia, Oxford, 1918, Vol.IV, pp.1917, 1920.
25. G. C. Hawker to E. W. Hawker, 25 Sept. 1892, S.A.A.D.2622(L).
26. For an account of its earlier history see above pp.243-253.
27. Observer, 8 March 1890, pp. 9, 10, 31; 21 March 1891, pp. 9, 10, 11, 32; 19 Sept. 1891, pp. 8, 9, 10, 11, 30, 31. There was a short lived Producers Defence League formed in 1890 to oppose the Single Tax, which attempted to gain S.A.F.M.A. support. See Observer, 15 Feb. 1890, p.10; 8 March 1890, p.29, 15 March 1890, p.36.
28. Observer, 6 Feb. 1892, p.10.
29. Ibid., 12 March 1892, pp.9, 11.
30. Observer, 30 April 1892, p.29.
31. Voice, 17 March 1893, p.7; 24 March 1893, p.5; 19 May 1893, p.5.
32. Voice, 17 Aug. 1894, p.5; Country, 13 April 1895, p.4.
33. Observer, 6 May 1893, p.31.
34. Voice, 6 April 1894, p.5.

35. Advertiser, 15 Feb. 1893, p.6.
36. Voice, 29 Sept. 1893, p.7.
37. Observer, 23 Sept. 1893, p.44; Country, 2 March 1895, p.8.
38. Voice, 1 Sept. 1893, p.3; 27 Oct. 1893, p.6.
39. Herald, 13 March 1896, p.5.
40. This estimate is based on a key division from each of the three parliaments in this period: the second reading of the State Advances Bill, S.A.P.D., 1895, col. 1376; and two no-confidence motions, S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1898, p.150; 1900, p.415. The estimates of Hughes and Graham (Handbook of Australian Politics 1890-1960, Canberra, 1968) are much higher and appear to have been taken from statements made on the hustings. By the 1899 Parliament they put conservative strength at 28 in a House of 54. But if the term is to mean anything, conservatives should have voted with the Noes in these divisions. How could radical liberal ministries survive in a Parliament with a majority of conservatives? The tone of Sydney Webb's analysis - The Webb's Australian Diary 1898 ed. A.G. Austin, Melbourne, 1965, p.100 - is misleading, but his assessment of Opposition strength confirms my own. See also Observer, 9 May 1896, p.41, which lists National League strength at 17.
41. P. M. Glynn, Diary, P.R.G. 78, 8 July 1898; Trades and Labour Council Minutes, 14 Sept. 1900; S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1899, cols.3, 469; 1900, col.412. In the 1893 Parliament a Country Party operated but this was composed of liberals and supporters and sympathisers of the National League, see Country, 2 March 1895, p.7. In the 1896 and 1899 Parliaments the Country Party was a distinctly liberal body. By then Kingston's rule had led to a clearer definition of party lines.
42. Observer, 13 June 1896, p.16, 26 Sept. 1896, p.44.
43. Ibid., 6 Nov. 1897, p.44.
44. Act No. 633 of 1895.
45. Act No. 565 of 1893.
46. S.A.P.D., 1893, cols.104-5, 1041-44, 1197.
47. Act No. 604 of 1894.

48. Act No. 688 of 1897.
49. S.A.P.D., 1894, cols.1327-1330, 1781-3.
50. S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1899, pp.117-118.
51. Observer, 23 Sept. 1893, p.44.
52. Country, 5 Jan. 1895, p.10, 19 Jan. 1895, p.6.
53. Observer, 27 Jan. 1894, p.30, 25 Jan. 1896, pp.31, 32.
54. Country, 23 June 1894, p.7, 5 Jan. 1895, p.7, 18 April 1896, p.8.
55. Observer, 9 May 1896, p.32.
56. Ibid., 24 Sept. 1892, p.30.
57. Ibid., 18 Feb. 1893, p.31, 27 Jan. 1894, p.30.
58. S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1897, p.469.
59. A. P. Keain, "The Legislative Council of South Australia: 1857-1957", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1957, p.124 has a table showing the political affiliations of Councillors since 1891. For the 1894 Council he has overestimated liberal strength by one, at the expense of the conservatives. See Observer, 22 Aug. 1908, p.45.
- 59a. Observer, 23 Sept. 1899, p.41.
60. Voice, 7 April 1893, p.5.
61. See Godwin, "The Land for the People", B.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1961.
62. See Coghlan, Labour and Industry, Vol. IV, pp.1914-1915. So that their members could continue to be nominated as Labour Party candidates, the Democratic Associations fought against proposals that all Labour Party candidates should be wage-earners. After a bitter dispute, a referendum of the Party membership in 1894 did impose this restriction. It was later tacitly relaxed. See F. S. Wallis, "History of the South Australian Labour Party, 1882-1900", S.A.A. 1347, pp.26-31; Voice, 12 Jan. 1894, p.2.

63. Neither Wallis ("History of the Labour Party, 1882-1900", p.22) nor J. Craig ("History of the South Australian Labour Party to 1917", M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1940, pp.51-52) are very clear on the detailed provisions. In 1900, the first year for which the Council's minutes are available, the arrangement was that the Council appointed seven representatives of the Democratic Associations to the Executive, and the Associations were allowed representation on the Council in the same manner as the trade unions.
64. T. H. Smeaton, The People in Politics, Adelaide, 1914, gives the platforms from 1891 to 1913 in chap. 4. The 1893 platform printed here is incorrect. For this see Advertiser, 17 Feb. 1893, p.6.
65. A spirited attempt to secure exemption for small holdings was defeated, see Advertiser, 10 Feb. 1893, p.3.
66. Herald, 22 April 1899, p.10; Voice, 17 August 1894, pp.6-7; S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1898, p.526.
67. S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1897, pp.475-6, 564, 567, 572-3, 579-80, 601.
68. S.A.P.D., 1893, cols. 445-7, 453-61, 464-5, 514, 518-21, 532.
69. See e.g. the platform of the short-lived Gladstone Progressive League, Observer, 30 May 1896, p.15, 13 June 1896, p.41.
70. Observer, 18 April 1896, pp.11-12.
71. W. Copley for Yorke Peninsula in 1896 and 1899.
72. U.L.P. Minutes, 14 March 1901, 12 Nov. 1903.
73. Herald, 21 Oct. 1899, p.7. I have been unable to find a copy or account of these rules. Their provisions have been inferred from the U.L.P. Council Minutes, see esp. 14 Jan., 11 Feb. 1904.
74. Observer, 6 May 1893, p.6, 15 April 1899, p.16.
75. Ibid., 18 Feb. 1893, p.31.
76. Ibid., 26 Sept. 1896, p.43.
77. Annual Conferences and the list of Councillors were reported in the press. Detailed documentation of the composition and activities of the Executive and Council is only possible after

1900 when their minutes are available, but the few press references to the Council and Executive before 1900 confirm the later pattern. See Observer, 14 Oct. 1893, p.15, 11 Aug. 1894, p.15, 10 Oct. 1896, p.29, 23 Oct. 1897, p.44.

78. See e.g. Country, 2 March 1895, p.8.
79. Voice, 22 Sept. 1893, p.1, 17 Nov. 1893, p.2; Observer, 20 Sept. 1902, p.43.
80. In 1899 railwaymen and others in Frome sought and obtained an Adelaide trade unionist and ex M.P. to be their candidate, see Observer, 18 March 1899, p.16.
81. S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1899, pp.917-918.
82. Observer, 2 Dec. 1899, p.27; P.M. Glynn, Diary, 24 Dec. 1899.
83. S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1899, pp.945-46.
- 83a. S.J. Way to J.G. Bourinot, 8 Jan. 1900, P.R.G. 30/5/5, p.33.
84. S.A.P.D., 1893, cols. 3352-3, 3364-4, 3437.
85. S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1896, pp.33-4, 67; 1900, pp.179, 341, 442-3, 453, 464.
86. Ibid., 1897, p.580; 1900, p.456.
87. S.A.P.D., 1893, cols. 1700-02, 1716, 1719; 1894, cols. 1578, 1754.
88. P. M. Glynn, Diary, 8 July 1898; S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1898, p.150; S. J. Way to F. W. Pennefather, 12 July 1898, P.R.G. 30/5/4, p.427.
89. Statistical Register, 1911 - Population, p.24.
90. S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1901, p.7.
91. Ibid., p.24. Jenkins claimed that his Bill would restore the 1890 ratio, but it went much further than that. In his speech he confused the proportion of electors per member in city and country with the proportion of seats held by Adelaide and the country.
92. Ibid., pp.161, 594.

93. Ibid., p.647.
94. These three subsequently voted with Gilbert at a crucial division, see below, note 96.
95. Ibid., pp.475-7, 574.
96. Ibid., pp.688-702.
97. Ibid., pp.742-745.
98. The Council was to have 18 instead of 24 members. The old Assembly electorate of East Torrens was taken from Southern and included in Central District. Central was given six members and the others four.
99. Observer, 12 April 1902, p.31. B. J. Doe, blacksmith of Port Broughton, stood for Stanley, but he was a loner. Port Pirie, the workingclass centre of the district, did not nominate anyone.
100. Cohen (Adelaide), Darling and Soward (Torrens) were closely identified with the League. Dixon (Adelaide) was more liberal, but the League had not opposed him at his first election in 1901.
101. The no-confidence motion of 1904 reveals the new alignment of parties, S.A.P.D.(H.A.), 1904, p.177.
102. See his confident address to a general meeting of the League in March 1904: "they practically had a Government administering the policy of the League", Register, 5 March 1904, p.10.
103. Register, 5 May 1902, p.4.
104. Advertiser, 5 May 1902, p.4.
105. Scarfe, "The Labour Wedge", chap.4. In addition, Labour claimed that it had been adversely affected in Council election by the granting of women's suffrage. See Herald, 15 April 1899, p.9.
106. U.L.P. Minutes, 8, 22 May 1902.
107. Ibid., 14 Jan. 1904.

108. Ibid., 10 March 1904. Observer, 17 Sept. 1904, p.40 and Herald, 17 Sept. 1904, p.7, outline the provisions of the new constitution. A printed copy of the Rules and Standing Orders of the United Labour Party of South Australia, revised to Sept. 1911, is filed after the Council Minutes of 17 Aug. 1914.
109. Herald, 14 Sept. 1901, p.11.
110. U.L.P. Minutes, 14 April, 12 May, 9 June, 28 July, 1904.
111. Ibid., 14 Jan. 1904.
112. Ibid., 18, 25 Aug. 1904.
113. The platform is printed in Smeaton, People in Politics, chap. 4.
114. Herald, 17 Sept. 1904, p.7.
115. U.L.P. Minutes, 9, 10 Sept. 1904.
116. Herald, 13 May 1905, p.3; Observer, 13 May 1905, p.34.
117. U.L.P. Minutes, 19 Jan., 2, 9, 16 Feb., 23 March, 6 April 1905.
118. S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1905, p.4.
119. A.N.L. Council Minutes, 13 May 1902.
120. Ibid., 14 June, 9 Aug. 1904; E. W. Hawker, Summary of Journal, S.A.A. D.2617(L), 25 July, 4, 9, Aug. 1904; 27 Feb., 3, 9 March 1905.
121. Ibid., 16, 17, 20, 23 June, 17, 26 Aug., 9, 20 Sept., 30 Dec. 1904; 24 Jan., 28 March, 14 Sept. 1905.
122. Ibid., 11, 23 May 1905.
123. For George Hawker's political career see above, pp.92-93.
124. H. T. Burgess, The Cyclopedia of South Australia, Adelaide, 1909, Vol. 2, p.168; Observer, 20 Aug. 1904, p.41, 15 Oct. 1904, p.34, 19 Nov. 1904, p.38.
125. Observer, 17 Sept. 1904, pp.44-45. For an outline of the final constitution, see Burgess, Cyclopedia, Vol. 2, p.168.

126. See e.g. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 31 May, 5 June, 13 Nov. 1906; 6, 7 Feb. 1907.
127. A.N.L. Council Minutes, 12 Sept. 1905; Herald, 17 Sept. 1904, p.3.
128. Observer, 15 Oct. 1904, p.34, 28 Jan. 1905, p.33.
129. E. W. Hawker, Journal, 28 Nov. 1904.
130. Herald, 26 Nov. 1904, p.8.
131. Register, 2 March 1905, p.7.
132. Observer, 19 Nov. 1904, p.36. See platform adopted at Quorn, Advertiser, 1 March 1905, p.5.
133. See e.g. speech of J. Miller, Observer, 11 March 1905, p.39.
134. A.N.L. Council Minutes, 24 May 1905.
135. Ibid., 7 June, 11 July 1905.
136. Observer, 23 Sept. 1905, pp.53-4.
137. Ibid., 16 March 1907, p.43, 21 Sept. 1907, p.51, 25 Sept. 1909, p.47; Register, 12 Sept. 1908, p.11.
138. An attempt to have the Executive elected by ballot of the Council was defeated. Its promoters did not reach the Executive. See A.N.L. Council Minutes, 11 July, 8 Aug., 10 Oct. 1905.
139. Ibid., 8 Aug. 1905, 20 April 1909.
140. S.A.P.D., 1905, (H.A.), pp.722-727, (L.C.), pp.194-197.
141. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 24 March, 27 June 1906.
142. Ibid., 10 July 1906; E. W. Hawker, Journal, 29 June 1906.
143. Observer, 16 March 1907, p.43.
144. A.N.L. Council Minutes, 14 Aug.; 5, 13 Sept. 1906.
145. S.A.P.D. (L.C.), 1906, pp.154-155, 160-161. The President of the League hotly denied charges of the Labour Chief Secretary that the Council's amendments were "made and formulated under the

influence and at the dictation of the executive of the League" (Observer, 16 March 1907, p.43). The minister's statement exaggerates only by implying a unity of purpose to the Executive. It seems unlikely that coincidence will explain the appearance in the Council in September of a scheme that had been adopted by a sub-committee of the League's Executive in June. Duncan, who led the Opposition in the Council and who introduced the compromise, was a member of the League's Executive.

146. S.A.P.D.(H.A.), 1907, pp.598-601; Act No.920 of 1907. This Act also gave the vote to leaseholders with £50 of improvements.
147. S.A.P.D.(H.A.), 1908, pp.845-850.
148. Register, 12 Sept. 1908, p.11.
149. A.N.L. Council Minutes, 8 Aug. 1905.
150. E. W. Hawker, Journal, 20 July 1905.
151. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 9, 17 Aug. 1906; Observer, 25 Aug. 1906, p.37.
152. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 9, 28 Aug. 1906, 25 March 1907; A.N.L. Council Minutes, 9 April 1907; E.W. Hawker, Journal, 6 Oct. 1906; Observer, 11 March 1907, p.16.
153. Register, 30 Oct. 1906, p.9.
154. Observer, 14 March 1908, pp.49-50.
155. E. W. Hawker, Journal, 13 April 1908.
156. There were many complaints about higher assessments after a periodic revaluation in 1905, S.A.P.D.(H.A.), 1905, p.614. The progressive scale applied on properties above £5,000 unimproved value.
157. A.N.L. Council Minutes, 11 Feb., 16 June, 7 July 1908.
158. See e.g. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 17, 31 Aug. 1906, 8, 13, 15 Nov. 1906.
159. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 31 May 1906, 13 March 1907, 21, 25 Jan. 1910.

160. Ibid., 15 March 1909.
161. A.N.L. Council Minutes, 31 Aug., 6 Oct. 1908; 10 Feb., 20 April 1909.
162. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 5, 9 Aug. 1909.
163. A.N.L. Council Minutes, 10 Aug. 1909.
164. Observer, 9 March 1907, p.40; Register, 12 Sept. 1908, p.11.
165. A.N.L. Council Minutes, 10 March, 14 April, 12 May, 9 June, 1903.
166. A.N.L. Council Minutes, 8 Nov. 1904, 13 March 1906; A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 26 March 1906; E. W. Hawker, Journal, 29 Nov. 1905.
167. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 15 March 1909; Council Minutes, 17 June 1910.
168. Unions were established in Murray by 1907 (Observer, 9 March 1907, p.40), in Woorroora by 1908 (Observer, 31 Oct. 1908, p.49), and in Barossa by 1910 (A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 25 Jan. 1910). This left only Alexandra without an effective Farmers and Producers organisation.
169. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 22 April 1907; E. W. Hawker, Journal, 22 July 1907, 22 April 1910.
170. E. W. Hawker, Journal, 18 June 1906, 27, 30 Nov. 1906, 12 Sept. 1908, 22 April 1910.
171. Ibid., 18 July 1905, 19 Feb. 1906; Observer, 14 March 1908, p.49.
172. A.N.L. Council Minutes, 13 March 1906; Executive Minutes, 8 Jan. 1909. The Women's Branch, organised in 1907, was primarily a city organisation.
173. See especially Secretary's last report to the Council, Minutes, 17 June 1910.
174. U.L.P. Minutes, 9 Aug. 1906, 11 April, 9 May 1907, 14 Jan. 1909.
175. Register, 19 Feb. 1909, p.6.
176. A by-election late in 1908 had given the Labour Party an extra member.

177. Observer, 22 Sept. 1906, p.48, 26 Sept. 1907, Supplement, p.7, 19 Sept. 1908, p.49.
178. Observer, 13 March 1909, p.42; A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 28 June, 22 July 1909.
179. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 22 July 1909; A.N.L. Council Minutes, 10 Aug. 1909.
180. Observer, 25 Sept. 1909, p.42.
181. Ibid., 25 Sept. 1909, p.47.
182. Ibid., 25 Sept. 1909, pp.42-43, 48.
183. Ibid., 20 Nov. 1909, p.32.
184. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 7, 10, 15 Feb. 1910; A.N.L. Council Minutes, 23 Feb., 17 June 1910.
185. A.N.L. Executive Minutes, 22 April, 30 June 1910; L.U. Executive Minutes, 22 July 1910.
186. L.U. Executive Minutes, 1 Aug. 1910, contains the platform signed by delegates of the three organisations.
187. Observer, 18 Sept. 1909, p.39.
188. The National League had finally agreed to the State's intervention in industrial matters in 1908, see A.N.L. Council Minutes, 30 July 1908; Register, 12 Sept. 1908, p.11. This followed the passage of the 1907 Factory Bill, for which see below, p.400.
189. Register, 14 Sept. 1910, p.14, 17 Sept. 1910, p.17.
190. S.A.P.D. (L.C.), 1910, pp.398-402.
191. Act No. 1032 of 1910.
192. The Act also provided for the compulsory repurchase of land along the River Murray for irrigation purposes. Small areas were acquired under these powers. Mr. Ross Thomson of the Lands Department supplied information on these matters.
193. See Reports of the local Directors of the Canowie Pastoral Company, J. B. Graham Papers, P.R.G.100, reel 3, "Canowie Reports", 23 Sept. 1908, 4 May 1910; S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1911, p.111.

194. Act No. 1148 of 1913.
195. The Liberal Union, Constitution, Rules and Political Platform, Adelaide 1910.
196. See below, note 257.
197. Kiek, "South Australian Labour Unions", p.67.
198. Trades and Labour Council Minutes, 9 Aug. 1907, Report p.4, 5 Aug. 1910, Report, p.6; Herald, 14 Sept. 1907, p.9; Daily Herald, 2 Sept. 1910, p.2, 10 Sept. 1910, p.9, 14 Sept. 1910, p.5, 24 Sept. 1910, p.12.
199. 1,932 members in 1904 (A.W.U., Adelaide Branch, Annual Report for the term ending May 31, 1904, Adelaide, 1904, p.3), 2,900 members in 1907 (Worker, 27 Feb. 1908, p.29) and 4,750 in 1910 (ibid., 19 Jan. 1910, p.3).
200. See report preceding U.L.P. Minutes, 9 Jan. 1908.
201. Worker, 12 Feb. 1914, pp.21, 23.
202. Daily Herald, 12 Sept. 1911, p.6, 20 Sept. 1913, p.3.
203. See J. Playford, "History of the Left Wing of the South Australian Labour Movement 1908-1936", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1958.
204. These attitudes are evident in submissions to Labour Conferences and in the South Australian contributions to the Sydney Worker. Detailed references will follow.
205. Worker, 1 Feb. 1917, p.20 carries a biography.
206. U.L.P. Minutes, 14 Jan. 1904; Herald, 17 Sept. 1904, p.6.
207. U.L.P. Council Minutes regularly report on branch formation.
208. The Herald and the Laura Standard, run by a Labour Party member, provide information on the personnel and activities of country branches.
209. Herald, 11 June 1904, p.3, 8 April 1905, p.1, 19 May 1906, p.8.
210. E. W. Hawker, Journal, 6 Nov. 1906; S. J. Way to Lieut.-Col. Worsnop, P.R.G.30/5/9, p.474.
211. Worker, 26 Jan. 1910, p.7.

212. See resolutions before 1907 Conference, U.L.P. Minutes, 11, 12 Sept. 1907.
213. Worker, 5 Nov. 1908, p.13, 17 Feb. 1909, pp.5, 7, 13 May 1909, p.17, 26 Jan. 1910, pp.5, 7.
214. Ibid., 26 Jan. 1910, pp.5, 7.
215. In 1910 the A.W.U. was planning to appoint one of the Party's Senate candidates as its political organiser. See Daily Herald, 16 Sept. 1910, p.10.
216. U.L.P. Minutes, 1 April 1909; Daily Herald, 4 Nov. 1914, p.5; Port Augusta Dispatch, 25 Sept. 1914, p.3.
217. S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1906 (1st. session 19th Parliament), pp.35-36. Acts Nos.915 of 1906, 945 of 1907. See A. Vilkins, "Industrial Legislation: An Outline of the Regulation of Wage Earners' Conditions in South Australia, 1884-1906", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1961.
218. Acts Nos.887 of 1905, 935 of 1907.
219. S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1907, p.439.
220. Acts Nos.936 of 1907, 957 of 1908.
221. Acts Nos.882, 892, 902 of 1905, 932, 941, 942 of 1907.
222. See contemporary assessments by Party members, Daily Herald, 16 Sept. 1910, p.10; Register, 7 April 1910, p.7.
223. The Herald and Daily Herald usually printed a full list of Conference delegates.
224. Herald, 2 Oct. 1909, pp.10,12,13.
225. Ibid., 2 Oct. 1909, pp.9-10.
226. Ibid., p.11.
227. Ibid.,
228. See R. J. Miller, "The Fall of the Verran Government", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1965. This account, subtitled "The most determined attempt to abolish the Legislative Council of South Australia, and its failure", exaggerates the

determination and fails to see the desperation of the Government's plans. Kingston in 1899 and Price in 1906 put much more pressure on the Council than Verran. Miller claims that the Council had previously accepted a vote on the estimates as sufficient authority for the establishment of a new undertaking, but in the case he cites (the Produce Department in 1893) he fails to note that though no legislation was passed, a resolution in favour of the new department was carried in both Houses prior to the submission of the estimates. For the Governor's role in the crisis, see S. J. Way to F. W. Pennefather, 15 Jan. 1912, P.R.G. 30/5/16, pp.395-398.

229. Daily Herald, 2 Sept. 1910, p.4, 5 Sept. 1910, p.5, 10 Sept. 1910, p.8.
230. Register, 10-23 Dec. 1910.
231. Daily Herald, 15 Sept. 1911, p.7.
232. See above, footnote 108, for the constitution.
233. Daily Herald, 15 Sept. 1911, p.3.
234. U.L.P. Minutes, 8 Sept. 1913, Auditor's Report.
235. Daily Herald, 12 Sept. 1913, p.3.
236. Ibid., 4 Nov. 1914, pp.5-6, 6 Nov. 1914, p.6.
237. Ibid., 28 Sept. 1915, p.6; Worker, 6 March 1912, p.3.
238. Daily Herald, 5 Sept. 1916, p.6.
239. Ibid., 12 Feb. 1917, p.5, 13 Feb. 1917, p.5, 14 Feb. 1917, p.5.
240. Worker, 8 Feb. 1917, p.19.
241. Daily Herald, 11 Sept. 1918, p.5.
242. Herald, 13 May 1905, p.7.
243. Because of an ambiguity in the 1907 Factory Act, it seemed that determinations could be extended by Order in Council, but under the 1910 amending Act determinations which were to apply to the country could be made only by a separate country board, established by resolution of both Houses. See S.A.P.P., 1910/112; Act No.1020 of 1910; S.A.P.D.(H.A.), 1910, p.887.

244. Herald, 2 Oct. 1909, p.10.
245. For the Council's treatment of the Verran Government's Arbitration Bill, see S.A.P.D. (H.A.), 1911, p.1309.
246. S.A.P.D. (L.C.), 1911, pp.405-407; 1915, p.2589. When employers asked for Country Boards to be established the Council was prepared to give its consent, see S.A.P.D., 1912, (H.A.), p.957, (L.C.), pp.451-452.
247. Daily Herald, 16 Sept. 1911, p.7.
248. Worker, 12 March 1908, p.11, 7 Feb. 1912, p.5. The R.W.U. did not operate in South Australia. The A.W.U. and the U.L.U. attempted to organise the farm workers, see Register, 17 Sept. 1910, p.16.
249. Worker, 22 Jan. 1913, pp.1, 3, 4, 26 Feb. 1913, p.3, 5 March 1913, pp.2, 3.
250. Ibid., 4 Dec. 1913, p.21.
251. Ibid., 18 Dec. 1913, p.21, 1 Jan. 1914, p.20, 15 Jan. 1914, p.23, 22 Jan. 1914, p.23; Observer, 10 Jan. 1914, p.40.
252. Liberal Record, Sept. 1912, pp.2-4.
253. Register, 25 Feb. 1915, pp.5, 6.
254. L.U. Executive Minutes, 24 Jan. 1911.
255. See table of contributions below, p.423.
256. L.U. Organising Committee Minutes, 14, 24 Nov. 1910.
257. L.U. Council Minutes, 14, 15 Sept. 1911.
258. No figures on location of members are available, but the amounts contributed by branches (see table, p.423) indicate a clear predominance of country members.
259. For constitution, see above, note 195.
260. See table p.423.
261. L.U. Executive Minutes, 12 Sept. 1911.

262. L.U. Council Minutes, 8 March 1912; Liberal Record, April 1912, pp.1-2.
263. L.U. Council Minutes, 4 June 1912.
264. Liberal Record, Sept. 1912, p.1.
265. U.L.P. Minutes, 8 Sept. 1913, Report.
266. Liberal Record, Dec. 1911, p.2, May 1912, p.3.
267. The Liberal Union Constitution, Rules and Political Platform, Adelaide, 1910, lists the original members of the sub-committees.
268. L.U. Finance Committee Minutes, 18, 21 Nov. 1910, 3 Jan. 1912, 6 May 1913.
269. Ibid., 29 March 1912.
270. Liberal Record, Aug. 1911; L.U. Executive Minutes, 22 Aug. 1913, Finance Committee Minutes, 14 Jan. 1913, Platform Sub-Committee Minutes, 24 March 1916.
271. L.U. Council Minutes, 9 Sept. 1913.
272. L.U. Finance Committee Minutes, 14 Jan. 1913; Liberal Record, March 1913, p.1; Register, 12 Sept. 1913, p.7.
273. For the arrangements for the 1912 election, see L.U. Organising Committee Minutes, 3 Jan. 1912, Finance Committee Minutes, 3, 26 Jan., 31 May 1912.
274. See Receipts and Expenditure for 1911-12, 1912-13, L.U. Executive Minutes, 18 July 1913.
275. L.U. Finance Committee Minutes, 20 Dec. 1912, 12 Dec. 1913, 21 Oct. 1914, 20 Nov. 1914; Organising Committee Minutes, 20 Nov. 1914.
276. L.U. Council Minutes, 8 Sept. 1915.
277. L.U. Finance Committee Minutes, 16 May 1916.
278. Ibid.
279. Ibid., 18 July 1916.
280. L.U. Council Minutes, 6 Sept. 1916.

281. L.U. Finance Committee Minutes, 15 Dec. 1916, 16 Feb. 1917.
282. Ibid., 21 Feb. 1919.
283. Ibid., 19 Oct. 1917 refers to "National Union, South Australian section". See B. D. Graham, "The Place of Finance Committees in Non Labour Politics 1910-1930", Australian Journal of Politics and History, VI (1960), pp.41-52.
284. Letter from H. Boas to W. Y. Cooke (Secretary of National Union, W.A. Section), 12 Dec. 1923, H. Boas Papers, Battye Library.
285. L.U. Finance Committee Minutes, 18 July 1919 records the one clear instance. The committee concurred in the National Union's demand that every effort should be made for an electoral agreement with the Farmers and Producers Association. It probably needed little encouragement.
286. See E. A. Herbert, "A History of the Country Party in South Australia", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1965.
287. Ibid., pp.102, 121.
288. Ibid., pp.10, 100, 111-112.
289. B. D. Graham, The Formation of the Australian Country Parties, A.N.U. 1966, p.294.
290. Observer, 14 July 1906, p.38, 3 Aug. 1907, p.40.
291. For a discussion of the country's attitude to the city, see above, pp.116-121.
292. For the role of the Adelaide gentry, see above, pp.91-93.
293. E.g. C. A. S. Hawker, W. G. Duncan, C. R. Cudmore, Hurtle Morphett, Arthur Rymill. For Presidents and leading members in the Liberal organisations, see M. Farr, Origins of the Liberal and Country League of South Australia, Adelaide, 1965, p.18; K. West, Power in the Liberal Party, Melbourne, 1965, chap. 2.

NOTES - PART III

1. Douglas Pike, "The Smallholder's Place in the Australian Tradition", Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Papers and Proceedings, Vol.10 (Dec., 62), p.33.
2. S.A.P.D. (H.A.) 1913, p.380.
3. In 1913 when the Liberal Union Government attempted to arrange at least one safe seat in Adelaide, it incidentally increased Adelaide's proportion of the Assembly's membership from 30% to 33%.
4. W. K. Hancock, Australia, (Jacaranda), p.53.
5. A. G. Austin, Australian Education, 1788-1900, Melbourne, 1961, pp.174, 175.

This theme has been expanded recently by Geoffrey Blainey in The Tyranny of Distance, Melbourne, 1966. Blainey is not concerned with the centralised administrations, which are perhaps the most telling indication of how easily and early distance was tamed in Australia.

NOTES APPENDIX I

1. In answer to a query of mine, the Bureau of Census and Statistics estimated the population within ten miles of the G.P.O. in 1871 by using figures for local government areas, and concluded that the figure in the Statistical Register is based on a ten mile radius.
2. Summaries in current issues of the Statistical Register do not give the estimates for every year since 1888. The Register for 1928-9 gives the estimates for each year from 1888 to date.
3. Government Gazette, 11 July 1889, p.140.
4. T. A. Coghlan, A Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand 1902-1903, Sydney, 1904, p.172.
5. K. W. Robinson, "The Distinctive Character of Australian Urban Growth", Readings on Urban Growth, published by the Department of Geography, University of Sydney, and The Geographical Society of New South Wales, Feb. 1963. Fig. 1 gives population graph.
6. C. M. H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History, 1851-1900, Sydney, 1955, p.666.
7. Districts were defined and altered by Government Gazette notice. For metropolitan districts see 24 Dec. 1874, p.2476; 22 June 1882, pp.1956-1957; 30 May 1889, p.1345; 11 July 1889, p.140.
8. See e.g. S.A.P.P., 1901/19, p.9. From 1891 Statistical Registers publish birth, death and marriage rates for the Adelaide metropolitan area and the country. Rates for the City of Adelaide were given throughout the period.
9. For infant mortality, 1885-1914, see S.A.P.P., 1915/19.
10. The boundaries of electoral districts were defined in the various electoral Acts; their areas are given in the census returns. For maps of electorates see J. R. B. Stephenson, "The Electoral Districts of South Australia and Population as the Basis of Representation, 1851-1882", B.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1952; S.A.P.P., 1896/118.

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